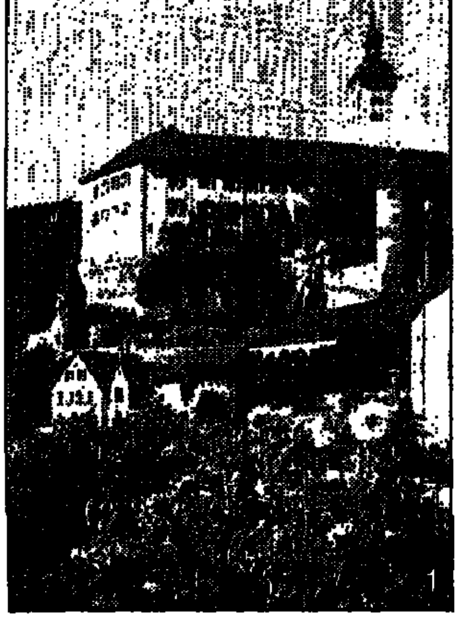
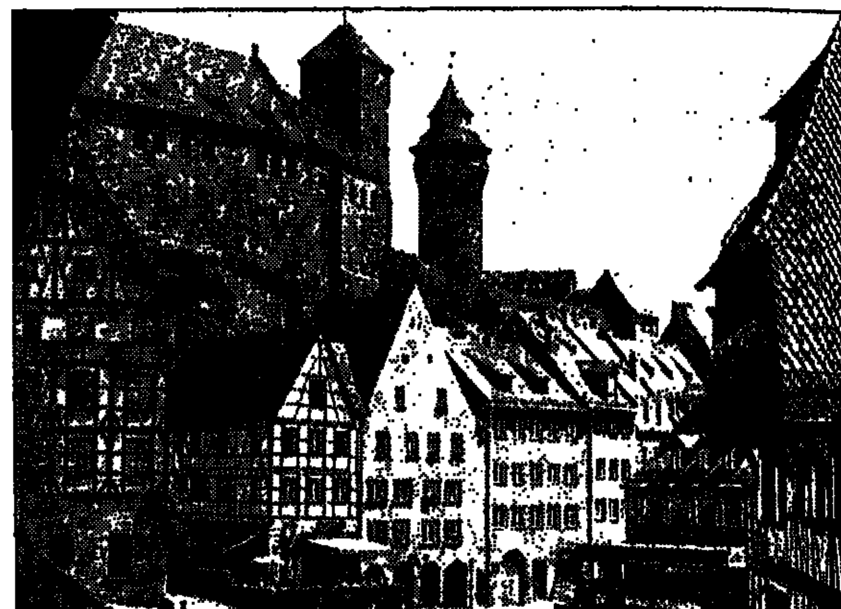
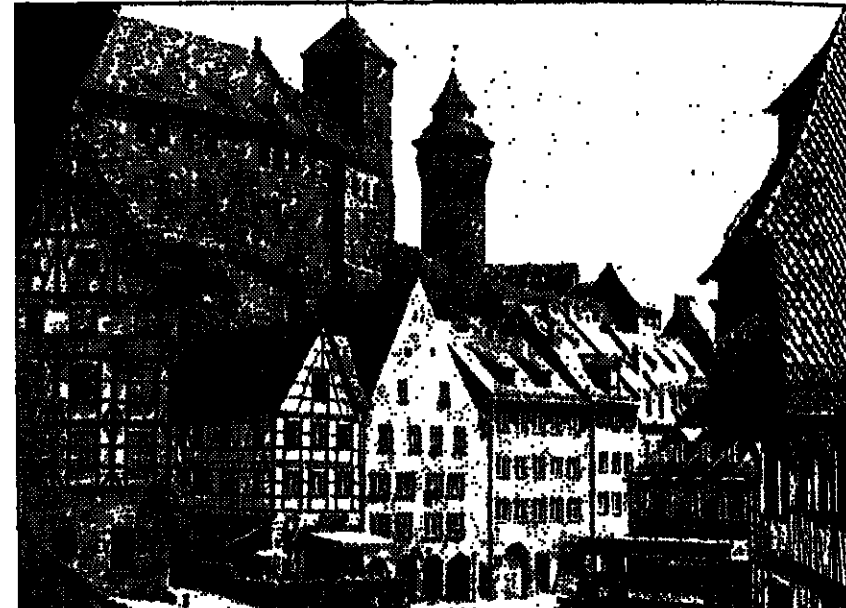
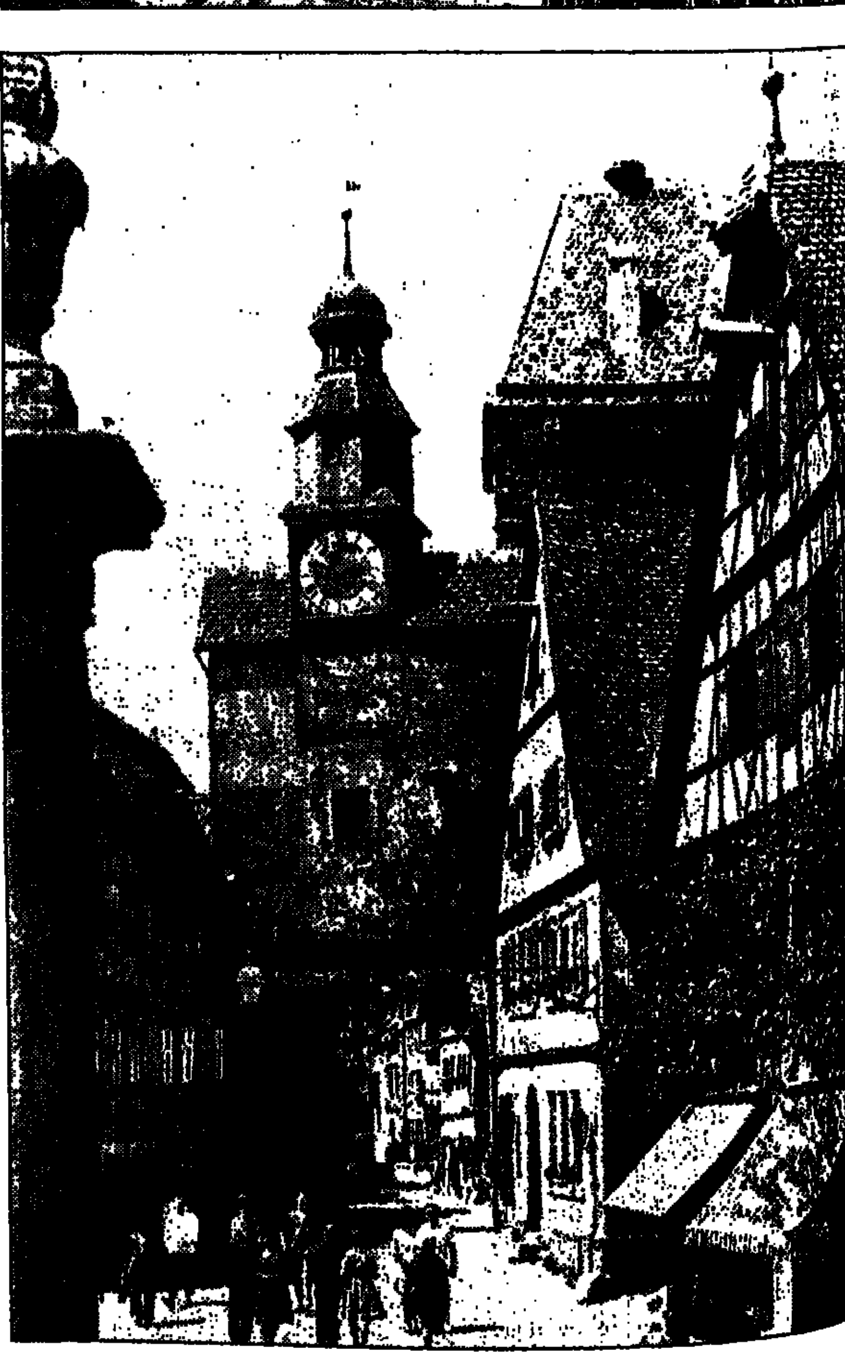












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VE Day remains riddled with contradictions

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Germans' fractured relationship with VE Day, the anniversary of the end of the Second World War in Europe, is becoming increasingly apparent.

The assumption is, of course, that the wartime Allies have unlimited reason for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the German capitulation and are not caught in the Germans' cleft stick.

The Germans in contrast are torn between feelings of liberation, mourning and guilt that make all German bids to review the past seem so hopeless.

Both the French and British governments have now decided to scrap pomp and circumstance so as not, as M. Mitterrand put it, to overtax the "heart and feelings" of the Germans.

This consideration may be (and is) rated by many as an encouraging token of how closely integrated the Germans are in the West.

Even so, one may still wonder whether the French President's idea is the right reason for self-restraint.

The *New York Times* wrote in a recent editorial that the United States had a right and a reason to celebrate VE Day.

Yet America could do worse than share some of the fractured feelings with which the Germans view the anniversary.

In political terms, and in relation to their own objectives, the war ended in appalling defeat, a near-disaster, for the democracies.

Britain and France went to war in 1939 to defend the freedom of Poland. They had no immediate territorial dispute with Hitler.

Their decision to declare war on the Third Reich was based mainly on the need to defend from totalitarian hunger for expansion the smaller countries' right to self-determination.

It is to Britain's eternal credit that it unflinchingly upheld this wartime objective and more than once rejected peace moves by Hitler.

Britain refused to consider peace terms after the defeat and division of Poland and even after the capitulation of France when it stood entirely alone against a Eurasian land-mass controlled and shared by the two dictators.

That makes it even harder to appreciate how far short of this war objective the outcome was, although it is easy to imagine that in view of Hitler's crimes all efforts were increasingly concentrated on merely defeating him.

But how could the West possibly forget who they had joined forces with to attain this objective? How could it forget that it was Stalin who had enabled Hitler to wage war in the first place?

How, indeed, could it forget that it was Hitler, not Stalin, who broke their pact and forced the Soviet Union to side with Britain, and later America, against Germany?

How could it possibly go as far as to cede eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, virtually ratifying in retrospect the borders agreed by the terms of the 1939 Ribbentrop-Stalin pact?

President Roosevelt, in a combination of self-importance, naivete and cynical thoughtlessness, has long been known to have made Stalin virtually every concession he demanded. Churchill, who never entirely lost sight of Britain's initial objectives, gave resistance in vain. Roosevelt told one person who warned him against giving away too much to Stalin that he felt if he gave him (Stalin) all he could without asking anything in return he (Stalin) would be duty-bound not to annex territory. What was so disastrous was that Roosevelt did more than give him what he could. Nine nations totalling nearly 100 million people came under Soviet hegemony between 1944 and 1949.

A series in the Hamburg newsweekly *Der Spiegel* only recently called to mind the blackmail and barbarous brutality with which the Soviet Union set about this task.

The course of events also testified to the guilty indecision with which the democracies betrayed both their own objectives and the hopes of others.

So only the Soviet Union has any real occasion for celebrating the anniversary unconditionally and, tellingly, many of the current anniversary celebrations date back to a decision by the CPSU central committee last June to celebrate VE Day as a feat of liberation in world history second only to the October Revolution.

Externally the event presents an opportunity of recalling that the Germans, albeit only Germans in the West, were erstwhile enemies.

Internally it provides a wide range of ways in which to marshal the time-honoured system of special shifts to demonstrate Soviet power and have Moscow acknowledged in the old Byzantine

Continued on page 2

Kohl recalls Bergen-Belsen

Former inmates of Bergen-Belsen gathered with several thousand people this month on the site, now marked by an obelisk, near the town of Celle in Lower Saxony, to mark 40 years since the camp was freed. Chancellor Kohl spoke, saying that the shame for what had happened would remain. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Germans still in quandary over end-of-the-war anniversary

President Reagan is visiting Germany for three reasons which have little to do with each other.

First, there is the Western economic summit in Bonn.

Then he wants to underline German-American friendship.

The third is to recall the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War and the Germans' liberation from Hitler's dictatorship.

Taken individually, each of these would have given Bonn enough problems.

The Western economic summit might suffer from the geographical and perhaps provincial confines of Bonn.

President Reagan's tour of Germany is likely to be fraught with security risks.

It is likely to trigger demonstrations and political unrest and thereby upset the picture of harmony it is hoped to present.

As for ceremonies to mark the 40th anniversary of the end of the war, the Germans themselves still don't know what to do.

They are still sounding out the options.

There are some far-reaching reservations because, after all, it is not easy to celebrate one's own defeat with the victors.

Even for those who are convinced the war's end meant liberation for Germany, there are still the practical difficulties of when, where and with whom to celebrate.

Many, including the Bonn government, are still learning the ropes, and now President Reagan has been involved, with inevitable and unfortunate side-effects.

The embarrassments now include a letter from the CDU leader in the Bonn Bundestag, Alfred Dregger, criticising US Senators because some sections of American public opinion happen not to share his, Dregger's, views.

That is one way of creating the impression that bids are under way to make domestic political capital out of the affair.

It would have been best for Bonn and Washington not to have tried to do three things at once.

They would then at least not have been in such a predicament, but now they are, they will probably have no choice but to go ahead with the programme.

They are unlikely to find the going much fun.

Achim Melchers

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 22 April 1985)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Sideshows promised for the Bonn economic summit

When leaders of the seven major Western industrialised nations meet in Bonn for what has come to be known as the Western economic summit the peace movement and the Greens plan to hold an "alternative summit" as a tribunal to pass judgment on Western economic and military policy.

Bonn being bound to be unsettled, the Social Democrats would like to gain themselves a hearing by holding demonstrations of their own.

The Christian Democrats made their voice heard before the summit when, together with the Catholic and Protestant churches, they held a meeting entitled The Economic Summit and the Third World: Joint Future for North and South?

Yet many Christian Democrats, not to mention people of other party-political persuasions, wondered what the point of this particular exercise was. The CDU, Christian Democrats critically argued, had no need to hold a "happening" of its own on the summit.

The organiser of the meeting, Karl Lamers, replied that the CDU had every good reason for taking the economic summit as an occasion for a closer look at relations between the Third World and the industrialised countries.

Herr Lamers is a Bonn MP and chairman of the CDU development policy committee.

It wasn't just a matter of the future of the developing countries, he said, who were hardest hit by international economic upsets and failures yet not represented at the summit.

The CDU had to demonstrate at the meeting that its development policy was comprehensive, dealing with all the political and economic aspects of Third World ties.

The CDU leader, Chancellor Kohl, was to make this point clear in a fundamental policy address on development policy.

As Bonn Chancellor Herr Kohl has so far been as little inclined to commit himself on development policy as his predecessor Helmut Schmidt, who was a latecomer to North-South policy.

Development policy debates in the Bundestag are usually held late in the evening. Chancellor Kohl, like Chancellor Schmidt before him, tends to be conspicuous by his absence from the rostrum.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

So policy pronouncements have been limited to passages within full-scale general government policy statements.

The churches have for some time been keen to hear more from the Chancellor on development policy. What he had to say in inaugurating the Roman Catholic fund-raising campaign Misereor in 1983 was not enough for churchmen committed on development policy.

But the Chancellor has for some time said he is willing to outline a detailed viewpoint on Third World policy at a gathering in which the churches take part.

The Chancellor's Office evidently felt the eve of the Bonn economic summit was a suitable opportunity. But the date was set at short notice.

Church authorities wondered whether they should accept the invitation to take part extended by Herr Lamers, and not just because so little time was left for joint preparation of the meeting.

They had even greater misgivings about making a public appearance in the Konrad-Adenauer-Haus, the CDU head office in Bonn, alongside the one political party.

They didn't want to create the impression that the churches saw eye to eye with the Christian Democrats or the Economic Cooperation Ministry on development policy.

The churches maintain a critical accompaniment to development policy as practised by Bonn, although friction is not as serious as it was when Jürgen Todenhöfer was the party's development policy spokesman.

At the time of these upsets much of the groundwork for a smoother relationship was laid by Volkmar Köhler, who is now parliamentary state secretary at the Economic Cooperation Ministry.

For many years the churches and the Christian Democrats have compared notes in detail via the Joint Conference on Church and Development representing Catholic and Protestant aid groups.

The Joint Conference liaises with all major social groups and political parties, including the Greens. Talks are held in private and in small groups.

The public appearance alongside leading Christian Democrats was a departure from the way in which views had previously been exchanged.

Church misgivings about holding the meeting were eventually set aside on two grounds, the first being that the Joint Conference could take part independently and, it was argued, partly influence the course of events.

Second, the meeting in itself represented an opportunity for development policy. Influence indeed went so far that the Christian Democrats accepted amendments to the draft of CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler's opening speech suggested by the Joint Conference.

The agenda also ensured that all representatives would be given an adequate hearing, and all speakers were keen to state the Third World's case by outlining what the developing countries expected of the economic summit.

They appealed to Western leaders at the summit not, as on previous occasions, to devote too little attention to the Third World.

The churches had no intention of being harnessed to the CDU's election campaign machinery or of taking part in a party-political publicity event.

They didn't just want to let off steam before the Bonn summit, as one spokesman put it. Critical debate was to make the public more keenly aware of the importance of Third World policy in the context of international economic policy and world affairs.

If this aim were achieved, a gathering jointly sponsored by the churches and the CDU would be justified.

Church representatives set great store by Chancellor Kohl. The mere fact that the CDU leader and Bonn Chancellor was to make his first development policy speech at the meeting made the event significant.

Herr Kohl stood to gain by merely clearly outlining the development policy of the Bonn government and his party. Did he put the opportunity to good use? At the time of writing that remained to be seen.

It would certainly be a great pity if the joint conference were to have been just one of many at which development aficionados and policymakers were on their own and took a further opportunity of repeating teased-out arguments and tarnished phrases.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 18 April 1985)

Continued from page 1

manner as the East Bloc's liberator. The most the West can do is to recall its resolve (better late than never) to resist Hitler's plans for world dictatorship and to regret that the resolve was abandoned so soon.

1945 was a victory year for democracy but also the greatest-ever defeat for the democratic principle in support of which the West went to war.

In February 1943, Ernst Jünger wrote, the word Stalingrad was often seen chalked on walls in Paris.

"Who knows?" the poet wondered. "Maybe Stalingrad will mark the beginning of the end for the walls of Paris."

Over and above ceremonial routine VE Day remains riddled with contradictions for the West, victory and defeat in one.

Hitler's end may be celebrated and the war dead called to mind. But from then on the questions arise.

Joachim Fest

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 April 1985)

IMF: another go at fighting foreign debt

Even if economic trends are favourable the developing countries' combined foreign debts will still total over $600bn at the end of the decade, a World Bank gathering in Washington has been told.

On the basis of this IMF estimate the interim committee of the International Monetary Fund and the development committee of the World Bank met in Washington in mid-April to review relations between industrial and developing countries.

The emphasis was on debt problems of the developing and threshold countries. Bonn was represented by Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg and Economic Cooperation Minister Jürgen Warnke.

Debt strategy as pursued over the past two and a half years has proved effective, or so Bonn feels.

But the crisis can only be considered as having been surmounted once the major debtor countries are no longer dependent on preferential terms and rescheduling.

They must, a report drawn up for the Washington meeting said, be able to meet their borrowing requirements in the normal way, meaning at market rates.

IMF experts say the developing countries may succeed in reducing their debts from the present $970bn to about two thirds of this amount by the end of the decade.

The Bonn government remains willing to collaborate in coping with debt problems via the so-called Club of Paris and the IMF. But it is keen to ensure that the IMF does not become a development finance institution on a self-service basis.

Bonn feels a number of IMF features need emphasising:

- The fund provides payment aid, not development aid.
- It helps to finance temporary payments imbalances, not the chronic variety.
- Its main sources of funds must be paid-up quotas, not special drawing rights that exist solely on paper.
- Funds must only be allocated on such conditions as the IMF sees fit; there must be no more special or extended access.
- Long-term debts must be reduced.

Herr Stoltenberg outlined German views on IMF finances while Herr Warnke represented Bonn on the World Bank's development committee.

On the eve of the meeting Herr Warnke warned against underestimating the explosive force of African countries' debts.

They might not yet be substantial in comparison with Latin American debts, but African debts could soon assume Latin American proportions in relation to the limited potential of many African economies.

Bonn is strongly in favour of throwing markets open to give developing and threshold countries an opportunity of earning in world markets the foreign exchange they need to service their debts.

The German government is also in favour of giving the World Bank better access to national and international capital markets to enable it to refund more smoothly.

Last year the World Bank raised in the German market 18 per cent, or roughly DM5bn, of the cash it needed to replenish its finances.

Tendencies toward bilateralism and protectionism are seen as a serious obstacle to favourable international economic development.

The 92-0 vote in the US Senate authorising Washington to undertake protectionist measures is seen as the writing on the wall.

So in Washington and at the Western economic summit in Bonn the German government urged speeding up preparations for a fresh Gatt round.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 April 1985)

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HOME AFFAIRS

Star Wars debate reveals split coalition opinion

The Bundestag has debated the issue of whether the Federal Republic would take part in President Reagan's Star Wars research.

Chancellor Kohl has given a conditional yes to the American invitation to take part, but many more questions remain to be asked before agreement becomes final.

The debate not only hardened attitudes between the government and the Opposition, it also revealed slight differences of opinion between the CDU/CSU faction and the coalition junior partner, the FDP.

Despite these differences, however, both parties support the Chancellor's conditional agreement.

Before making his decision, the Chancellor explored all aspects of Bonn participation as well as the SPD objection that the Strategic Defence Initiative could torpedo the Geneva disarmament talks.

The Chancellor also said that it did not follow that research and development would lead to missiles actually being stationed.

The acquisition of new technology for West German industry, if Bonn does take part, played an important role in the Chancellor's decision.

His cautious statement was coupled to this reservation, because Bonn wants first to sound out if full technology transfer is possible with the United States.

Kohl's intention from the start is that West German and European research should take part in the programme involving an exchange of technological knowledge.

The Chancellor has made it clear to Washington that West Germany will only take part in the research if a fair service in return can be expected.

He resisted the temptation to play the strong man. But his statement was clear enough to indicate to President Reagan what was understood in Europe by real partnership.

Although the Opposition rejected the proposal, it does not object to European participation.

Kohl, with his conditional "yes" is being much more realistic.

He knows that nothing will dissuade the United States from going ahead and pouring $80 million into the project.

Whether Bonn, London or Paris says yes or no, America will go ahead with the research programme which is aimed at using laser beams to destroy hostile missiles in flight.

Kohl's vote on technological grounds carried with it an element of political cunning. By taking part, Bonn ensures a conditional right to a say in the programme.

This right could lead to a powerful balance between East and West, particularly if the SDI programme is laid out on a Geneva negotiating table.

Bodo Schulte,

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 19 April 1985)



Chancellor Kohl... conditional Yes to Star Wars research. (Photo: dpa)

Official view

German industry is to be consulted before any final decision is taken on Bonn's involvement in the Star Wars project, says Chancellor Kohl.

He said in a statement before the Bundestag debated the subject that the possibility of European cooperation would also be investigated.

A party of experts would also be sent to the United States to make on-the-spot inquiries about research conditions.

"In addition, I shall take advantage of President Reagan's visit to Europe to discuss the matter with him," said the Chancellor.

He said the Strategic Defence Initiative research programme was justified and in the interests of the West.

It offered a chance to develop a defence strategy based on long-term defence rather than the deterrent threat of mutual destruction. It increased, therefore the likelihood of extensive nuclear disarmament.

"No one knows if this hope will be fulfilled. But a No now would not be right for the responsibility which we bear for the future of this country."

The strategic stability between East and West and the unity of the Western Alliance, both politically and strategically, must be ensured, he said.

The Nato strategy of flexible response must remain unchanged as long as there was no alternative way of preventing war.

"For us, the central point of SDI is arms control," he said.

"We shall persistently present our understanding of this to our American partners.

"Our top priority is a drastic reduction in the nuclear offensive systems on both sides.

"The Alliance, in assessing the American initiative, should seek to avoid risks and make use of the chance to show determination and single-mindedness to strengthen the influence of the European allies."

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 19 April 1985)

Chancellor Kohl manages to do a good shore-up job

Reconciling differences of opinion is a difficult task for the leader of a coalition.

In the Bundestag debate on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) Chancellor Kohl managed to do it — he united the pro-SDI in the CDU/CSU and those in the FDP who tend towards saying no.

This inevitably meant that the government had to fudge its statement a little.

The government is in no position to be absolutely clear on the issue.

This was shown in the speeches.

Both speakers from the CDU/CSU right, Alfred Dregger and Hans Graf Huyn, do not necessarily represent their

Süddeutsche Zeitung

parliamentary colleagues in this debate. They said West German participation in the project was essential on moral, military and technological grounds.

Huyn hit out at the FDP's Helmut Schäfer, saying that nothing had been heard from him of the joint decision made of "a basic preparedness to participate" in the space programme.

Alfred Dregger said of the Social Democrats that that they were "so prejudiced that they were just oriented to Moscow's wishes."

These two CDU/CSU men did not offer in any way "a factual discussion" which is what Genscher called for in his speech.

Contrary to what Dregger and Huyn said there was no similar plea in favour of the SDI programme in the speeches made by Genscher and Schäfer.

In Genscher's view an answer to the technological aspects of SDI participation was necessary, through this aspect was not central, he said.

Genscher made it quite clear that for him there were still many questions outstanding in political-strategic areas to be able to accept responsibility for West German participation in the "Star Wars" programme.

Because of FDP opposition, the Chancellor had to hedge in his government statement to keep the unity.

This was clear when Dregger toned down his commitment to a cautious participation, going along with Kohl's statement: the West German government will explore the possibilities of participation in the research programme in conjunction with European partners.

The differences within the coalition remain unchanged since the Chancellor's speech in Munich at the defence conference, despite the official offer to participate from the Pentagon.

The fact that various CDU/CSU speakers at the end of the SDI debate bothered to underline coalition unity shows how affected the government parties are by the differences of opinion in their midst.

Helmut Kohl's problem is not the fundamental opposition from the SPD and the Greens, but the faint, but continuous murmurs of dissent from the liberals.

Kurt Kister

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 April 1985)

Strauss goes on offensive again

Nordwest Zeitung NWZ

It is usually foreign affairs that irritates Franz Josef Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union, the Bavarian wing of the governing conservative union.

Now he has caused raised eyebrows by seeking talks with Chancellor Kohl over a range of domestic issues.

The list of complaints is long, running from the right to demonstrate to the Auschwitz Lie affair.

The CSU thinks the government is losing its way on domestic issues. Strauss' intention is getting at the Free Democrats, junior coalition partner.

A prominent CSU member in Bonn said the FDP must be told what goes and what doesn't.

It is, then, not surprising that the agreement last December between CSU/CSU and FDP legal experts on the reform of the right to demonstrate was described without further ado by the Bonn CSU state organisation as a "draft of a compromise".

According to the official wording the FDP let themselves be talked out of the much- disputed prohibition against disguise in demonstrations and talked out of apparent concessions in the parliamentary dealings about identity cards that would be secure from falsification.

Since the coalition negotiations in the spring of 1983 the positions of the government political parties are practically unchanged. A few senior CSU members would concede that in some ways matters are "basically improved".

Discussion between the coalition leaders has got much better since Martin Bangemann took over as chairman of the FDP from Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

The relationship between Kohl and Genscher has not been disturbed by this.

Despite coalition discussions there are still as many gaffes as ever.

Bangemann recently unleashed a storm when he unthinkingly expressed the view that the government's pensions policy had not been fully revealed. The matter has just been cleared away, so it is said.

Bangemann obviously enjoys a good reputation among CSU members. Nevertheless the public image of the coalition is more confused than clear.

But there has been a lack of clarity and leadership for a long time.

The points can be quickly listed: Confusion about the Strategic Defence Initiative, differences of opinion on early retirement for armed services officers, confusion about pensions policies and differences of opinion on legal policies.

It does not help to ask the Chancellor. Leadership is demanded from him and not just within the guidelines set down by Basic Law. Strong speeches in the Bundestag are no subsitute for this, parliamentary parties in Bonn are saying.

This complaint is being made not only by the FDP and the CSU but from within the ranks of the CDU itself.

Karl Hugo Pruys

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 18 April 1985)

■ TERRORISM

Libyan arrested after man is shot dead in Bonn

On Easter Saturday a 29-year-old Libyan, Fatahi el-Tarhouni, shot and killed a 30-year-old fellow-countryman, Gebril el-Denali, in a Bonn city-centre street, seriously injuring two German bystanders. Denali was an opponent of Libyan leader Col. Gaddafi. Tarhouni has admitted his motives were political.

A few hours after the Bonn murder an uneasy suspicion struck officials at the *Bundeskriminalamt*, or Federal CID, in Wiesbaden.

At 8 p.m. it notified the North Rhine-Westphalian Interior Ministry in Düsseldorf that the man arrested and charged with murder, Fatahi el-Tarhouni, could be the same person as a Libyan by the name of Tahurni who for weeks had been known to be planning to kill an opponent of the Libyan regime in Bonn.

He had now done so and clearly been advised by a man who was known to have worked as a gunman for the Libyan regime in Italy.

In a memo wired to all relevant police departments the *Bundeskriminalamt* had warned the authorities well in advance that an assassination was planned.

It had even included a list of 10 people, including Denali, the gunman could well have on his hit-list.

At the same time the BKA said that a Sahib Rashid was likely to be Tahurni's partner.

The authorities ought by this stage to have been warned. Rashid is one of the three men who rank alongside, or may even be superior to, Libyan secret service chief Younis Belgassem in Tripoli. He is wanted by the Italian police for the murder of another Libyan.

His name was circulated by Interpol and he was arrested by the French police in 1983. When the Libyan authorities virtually held two French citizens hostage, the French authorities eventually deported him to Libya.

The Italian Justice Ministry had beforehand taken good care not to apply to the French for him to be extradited to Italy.

Libyan exiles concluded that Col. Gaddafi's killers were virtually at liberty to move around Western Europe as they saw fit; otherwise foreigners in Libya were likely to be harassed.

At the end of March several former staff members of the Libyan people's bureau, as Libyan embassies are known, in London are said to have met in Brussels to coordinate fresh moves against Libyans in exile.

The conspirators were men who were expelled from Britain after the shooting outside the Libyan embassy in London and are reported by opponents of the Libyan regime to have been in Munich too in the New Year.

Libyan exiles in Germany have come to suspect, by a combination of speculation and inside information, that the *Bundeskriminalamt* maintains fairly close ties with the Libyan authorities.

Suspicions have been known to reach the point at which the BKA is said to have prevented the arrest of a pro-Gaddafi Libyan suspect.

Regardless of such accusations Belgassem is known to be on good terms with high-ranking BKA officials and to have helped the German authorities to track down German terrorists trained at Palestinian guerrilla camps.

Decision-making in Libya seems to depend on both the confused domestic situation and political rivalries.

At least seven competing secret service agencies are known to be keen to carry out the Libyan leader's wishes, with priority having been assigned to assassination bids abroad by the Libyan People's Congress, or Parliament.

Stronger domestic opposition, culminating in an attempted coup put down last May, so upset Col. Gaddafi that he ordered the liquidation of opponents who had settled abroad.

Technocrats in his government service evidently first tried to get Col. Gaddafi's opponents extradited, which would have forestalled foreign policy complications.

Belgassem is said to have given an assurance there would be no more assassination bids in Germany. It was an assurance that was withdrawn at the end of February.

The Libyan authorities had previously sought in vain to cook up offences that would have jeopardised the exiles' status with regard to political asylum.

Denali, for instance, was accused by members of the Libyan people's bureau



Murder on the streets of Bonn. Inset: the arrested man. (Photo: ...)

in Bonn of planning to abduct the Libyan military attaché.

Other Libyans in exile have been accused of undergoing military training in the Federal Republic of Germany with a view to ousting Col. Gaddafi.

Oddly enough, these accusations are said to have been levelled by two members of the Libyan Opposition jailed in Libya.

They and other Libyans had been in Brunswick for basic technology training until 1983. There they were kept under close scrutiny by both German and Libyan officials.

The assassination of Denali was preceded by constant, specific mentions of the dangers Libyans critical of the present regime faced. Amnesty International repeatedly warned the authorities of the risks run.

Yet Denali's case was clearly given only routine consideration even though his suspected collaboration with Sahib Rashid ought, according to the Bonn Interior Ministry, to have sounded the alarm.

Christian Democrats in the Bonn Bundestag are now trying to make election campaign capital out of the affair by accusing North Rhine-Westphalia's Social Democratic Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor of direct responsibility for security shortcomings.

In Düsseldorf, the state capital, this accusation is strongly contested. No-one, the Ministry says, could have expected an assassin to apply for renewal of his residence permit, so the aliens' police had not been notified — in keeping with the usual practice.

Jörg Reckmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 12 April 1985)

Government is taking a cool approach

Despite the assassination of a Libyan exile in Bonn (two German bystanders were also shot and seriously injured) the German government does not want to upset relations with Libya.

Bonn government spokesman Peter Boenisch said the Cabinet had not discussed political sanctions and was not considering breaking off diplomatic ties with Tripoli.

The Libyan chargé d'affaires in Bonn had, he said, denied that his government was involved in the assassination. The assassin claimed to have been politically motivated but to have acted on his own.

Breaking off diplomatic ties would do no good, Herr Boenisch said. Other European countries in similar situations had not found this move beneficial.

But the German ambassador in Tripoli, Rolf Enders, was recalled to Bonn for consultations. He is reported to have applied to the Libyan Foreign Ministry for an official statement on the assassination before leaving.

There was no point in considering counter-measures until the situation had been clarified and accusations proven, Herr Boenisch said.

Parliamentary state secretary Carl-Dieter Spranger of the Interior Ministry has in the past referred to "state terrorism" in a similar context. But this time the case cannot be proven and the accusation has not been repeated.

"In all deliberations on how terrorism can be combated and contained," Herr Boenisch said, "the safety of German citizens and the protection of their lives at home and abroad must be given top priority."

At present about 1,500 Germans lived in Libya. Their protection must be borne in mind whatever move the Bonn government decided to make.

An Interior Ministry spokesman said that Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann would be raising the issue at a conference of European Community Ministers responsible for security matters that is to be held in June in Rome.

He would be suggesting improvements in cooperation between Common Market countries. Similar assassinations have been carried out in Britain, Italy and Greece of late.

Herr Boenisch's remarks indicated that the *Bundeskriminalamt* was advised at an early stage of the assassin's intentions. The Bonn police had been alerted, but not the aliens' police, who had granted him a two-month residence permit in February.

Difficulties occurred in identifying him. His date of birth was unknown. His name was relayed to border crossing points in another spelling at the beginning of February.

It was up to the *Länder* to look into shortcomings, the government spokesman said. There had been no breach of regulations.

State secretary Fröhlich of the Interior Ministry told the Bonn Cabinet that the victim, Gebril el-Denali, had lived in the Federal Republic of Germany since 1979.

He was granted political asylum and was one of the leading Libyans in exile, which was why he travelled extensively. But the German authorities did not know which group of exiles he belonged to.

On several occasions Libyan authorities had sought, via Col. Gaddafi's close associate Younis Belgassem, head of the Libyan secret service, to get Bonn to extradite Denali.

The Libyan regime said he was planning the assassination of a Libyan major and a raid on the Libyan people's bureau, or embassy, in Bonn.

The killer, Tarhouni, arrived in Germany at the end of January. He had a four-week visa issued because nothing was known against him.

Early in February the *Bundeskriminalamt* was notified that he was planning a murder (but his name was spelt differently), possibly in Bonn.

The man behind the killing was a Sahib Rashid. In relaying this tip to the state CIDs the BKA even noted that Denali might be an intended victim.

On 4 February Tarhouni's name (spelt differently) was wired to border crossing points to check whether he entered or left the country.

His visa expired in February, so he applied to the aliens' police in Bonn for an extension. He said he needed medical treatment. An extension until 21 April was granted.

Herr Boenisch said the assassin had claimed to have met his victim in a Bonn cafe two days before the murder. He also said Denali had been denounced on Libyan TV as an opponent of Col. Gaddafi's.

Herr Fröhlich told the Cabinet Col. Gaddafi had stated at the end of March that the people had the right "to liquidate opponents in Libya and elsewhere in broad daylight." The Libyan leader had made this comment to the People's Congress, or Parliament, in Tripoli.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1985)

TECHNOLOGY

Foreigners step up complaints as Americans put up barriers

Security was tight at a scientific conference on photo-optics and laser technology in Arlington, Virginia, this month.

Free access was limited to blue pass-holders (US citizens only), and the Pentagon gave strict instructions to all concerned that none of the proceedings were to be leaked.

Foreign nationals had to clear almost insuperable checks, while many conference papers were immediately classified strictly confidential and not released.

Such secrecy is making people in both the United States and Western Europe increasingly uneasy.

The US Defence Department is worried sensitive technology might find its way to the East Bloc via unreliable Western European countries and accelerate East Bloc arms projects.

So the Pentagon has for some time increasingly sought to bar Western Europe from sensitive technology and know-how.

Last year a report commissioned by the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry arrived at alarming conclusions:

"The effect of an increasingly closely-knit network of controls is tantamount to making it more difficult for the Europeans to gain access to advanced US technology.

"There are increasing indications and there has been a growing number of instances in which the aim appears to be that of preventing technology transfer within the West."

The report says the US Defence Department under Secretary Weinberger

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

has been a "motive force of the restrictive course." In recent years he has been responsible for a dense network of export restrictions, veto options and secrecy regulations that has made life steadily more difficult for Western European companies.

Since 1982 US scientists have repeatedly complained that visiting scientists from abroad are increasingly being barred from American conferences on subjects such as computers, aerospace and laser research.

Since 1983 the Pentagon has stepped up attempts to link research contracts awarded to universities with undertakings not to allow foreign scientists to have anything to do with the contract.

The Freedom of Information Act, which in principle ensures freedom of access to all official documents in the United States, was drastically reduced in scope last year with the approval of the Supreme Court.

The Pentagon has made sure it is given an increasingly say in approving exports to Western Europe.

But what worries observers most is Defence Department legislation in the pipeline that would make the export of critical technical data on, say, semiconductor or biotechnology basic research to Western Europe subject to government permission.

This procedure at present applies only to exports to Eastern Europe. The Bonn report sounds a strong warning, saying:

"If this legislation is enacted the result would be substantial restrictions on the amount of technical data that could be relayed to students, research scientists and industrial staff and firms in Western Europe."

An interesting light on Pentagon policy is shed by a regulation numbered 2040.2 and issued in January 1984. It lays down the yardsticks by which export permits to East and West are to be measured.

Defence-related technology is to be treated as a "valuable and limited national security resource." The crucial factor is whether the recipient backs the United States in the Cocom committee that coordinates exports to the East Bloc and whether the exports might adversely affect the technological advantage enjoyed by the United States.

In 1984 the US Trade Department lent the Pentagon backing by warning that if Western Europeans were not cooperative in strictly abiding by regulations on exports to the East Bloc exports of critical technology would no longer be permitted.

German firms are increasingly complaining that they are deliberately and consistently being barred from basic research projects in the United States.

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the Munich-based aerospace group, has already outlined its fears on this point to a North Atlantic Assembly delegation which is looking into the subject.

A poll of 21 leading German firms has revealed complaints of being cut out of work on the latest US prestige project, the VHSIC (short for Very High-Speed Integrated Circuit) programme.

VHSIC amounts to preliminary work on a super-fast new computer, and technology transfer to the West on projects of this kind is currently running at virtual zero.

It has proved extremely difficult to circumvent US restrictions on the relay of data on, say, a Nato frigate that is to be jointly developed.

It was no less troublesome persuading the US authorities to waive regulations requiring the Berlin Senate to regularly brief US agencies in the divided city on the use to which a modern US computer was being put.

The Bonn report doubts whether fear of technology transfer to the East Bloc is the sole idea behind this trend. Washington attorney Werner J. Stein, one of its authors, writes:

"A Pentagon basic research budget rapidly increased in recent years, coupled with contractual transfer restrictions and export controls, is designed to restore and enhance the predominance of American technology in the world."

In view of this national contract policy and the dense array of restrictive regulations the prospects of greater consideration for European companies were not good.

The explosive nature of this development is self-evident. The Bonn government is working on the assumption that German participation in America's SDI research programme will only make sense if an "open exchange of information" is assured.

Bonn does not yet seem to be clear whether this open exchange is going to be possible and how it is to be ensured. But one point is clear in the German capital: there are going to be negotiations to counteract the trend. *Klaus-Ulrich Moeller*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 10 April 1985)

Row over decision to pick US aircraft-recognition system

An American friend-foe aircraft recognition system is to be bought for the Luftwaffe despite the fact that American experts acknowledge that it is not as good as a system developed by the German firm, Siemens.

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner has taken pains to reassure German industry that Washington had promised a wide range of military orders as a compensation.

They would include a cut-in for Siemens in the ground stations needed for the friend-foe recognition system, German tracks for US Army tanks and high-tech contracts as part of Nato's new Follow-on strategy.

Yet despite such consolations, Herr Wörner can hardly eliminate the impression that arms policy continues to be a one-way street.

How could he? The US orders are no more than vague declarations of intent.

Besides, there is a long list of arms industry cooperation plans initially drawn up with gusto but eventually dropped because national interest refused to be overridden.

The frustrated Leopard tank deal is a particularly striking instance that will readily be recalled.

There is, of course, no point in passing the buck from Bonn to Washington and back. The decision in favour of the US friend-foe recognition system reflects yet again a lack of resolve in Europe.

European countries repeatedly fail to grasp such cooperation opportunities as arise and so establish a possible counterweight on this side of the Atlantic.

Herr Wörner had to admit that despite strenuous and protracted efforts he had failed to persuade other European countries to back the Siemens system.

The friend-foe recognition system is a relatively modest project in financial terms. So are all other projects so far undertaken when compared with what might result from the US Strategic Defence Initiative.

So the time has come to take a closer look at possibilities of transatlantic arms cooperation.

Is SDI either strategically necessary or politically meaningful? Such questions, which have not yet been answered by any means, initially held pride of place, especially in the Federal Republic.

But the US initiative will also be an unprecedented test of the desire for industrial and technological cooperation between Europe and the United States.

So those who have promptly welcomed the latest US plans and favour immediate and unconditional approval of participation in the SDI programme may fairly be accused of being somewhat starry-eyed.

SDI is still extremely vague in outline and despite billions invested will for

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years progress no further than the drawing-board.

Supporters of participation may feel confident of a fair slice of the SDI cake if the idea is promptly endorsed, but hopes are unlikely to be sustained by one European country or another going it alone.

In France and Italy, and even in Britain, SDI is being discussed much more level-headedly and less noisily than in Germany — yet critically too, even at government level.

So the German government could do worse than refrain from making further statements unlikely to clarify matters and wait instead until WEU Defence and Foreign Ministers confer in Bonn on 22 and 23 April.

The Western European Union was only last year resurrected from virtual oblivion, and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has been one of many politicians who have said it must be realigned as a useful instrument in European arms cooperation.

If this is to be done, SDI must clearly be an item on the Bonn conference agenda. British and French officials can then be asked, for instance, how they reconcile SDI participation with their independent nuclear deterrents.

The aim of SDI research is, in the final analysis, to make tactical and strategic nuclear weapons even politically ineffective.

Reactions in Washington to the WEU conference may then give a clearer idea of the extent to which the Americans are prepared to consider a genuine exchange of technology and a two-way traffic in the arms sector within the SDI research framework.

The self-interest of US industry is well known not to be the only obstacle. The US Defence Department is unlikely to forget in a hurry its fears of leaks between Western and Eastern Europe.

The Pentagon has now been given a say in the export of sensitive technology even to Nato countries in Western Europe.

In the military strategy debate on SDI it must not be forgotten that even swift integration of all available technologies to produce defensive weapons in outer space is unlikely to revolutionise warfare.

Former Nato supreme commander in Europe and US Secretary of State Alexander Haig once noted in a *Handelsblatt* interview that every technological breakthrough in weapons technology has so far been followed by a corresponding counter-system.

"The history of warfare," Mr Haig said, "is one of evolution, not revolution."

Ewald Stein

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 12 April 1985)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Solution sought to pension funds' cash shortage

More people are retiring earlier and the ratio of working people to people in retirement is dropping. This means that pension funds need more money. Employment Minister Norbert Blüm is now thinking of increasing the age of retirement in certain circumstances. The government is also considering changing the system of payments so that instead of the current system whereby employers and employees pay equal amounts based on size of salary, company performance would be taken into account. The Social Democrats have proposed a tax on machinery, but Blüm has rejected this. Here Michael Brandt, in the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* and Peter Jentsch, in *Die Welt*, look the the various proposals for altering the pension-fund system.

A Social Democrat proposal for a tax on machinery to increase pension fund contributions has been rejected by the Employment Minister, Norbert Blüm.

The "robot tax" proposal would have meant that capital-intensive companies with few workers would have had to pay more than companies with more workers and less machinery.

The SPD's aim is to increase the pension insurance's income. Employers who gave more employment to robots rather than people should not be able to disregard their social responsibilities.

Instead, the government is considering a change in the system.

At present, employers and employees pay equal amounts based on size of pay. But the government is thinking of linking it to production.

A formula using turnover and profits or dividends and deducting cost of materials would be devised.

The idea is not new. Something similar was proposed in the late 1970s by a former SPD Employment Minister, Herbert Ehrenberg, and his state secretary at the time, Anke Fuchs. It was almost unanimously rejected.

Pension insurance has become more delicate a matter in the middle of the 1980s, however. The outlook for the next 10 years is alarming.

It is questionable if a robot tax on employers would save the situation.

Changing the pensions system, a company's competitive position and the labour market are all closely interwoven.

This is what makes a decision so difficult and why the trade unions are so guarded about the problem. Only IG Metall, the engineering union, has shown any sympathy for the robot tax.

In a 1982 resolution, the DGB, the trades union federation welcomed "considerations" in this direction. It would go no further.

Its social affairs committee does not meet again until autumn. Nothing much can happen until then.

The DGB sees the pensions insurance issue as standing delicately on the edge of a precipice.

But it would not go over the top until 1990 when the number of workers would reach a crucial low level in relation to the number of pensioners.

Then it would be time to do something.

North Rhine-Westphalia Employment Minister Friedhelm Farthmann regrets the lack of support from the DGB.

At the DGB headquarters in Düsseldorf it is being asked what the expression "net production" could mean, for instance, in the public service? How could the value of services there be determined?

In remarkable agreement with the employers, the DGB wants to avoid anything that could endanger the pensions system.Until now employers and employers have contributed equally to pension insurance. The contribution is calculated according to pay or salary. The payment is a component of the individual's pay and entitles the employee to a pension.

Professor Schmähl of West Berlin expressed it in this way: "The employer's contribution is for the account of the employee and the employer's share contributes to the size of the pension."

The robot tax proposal has been criticised by the association of West German pension insurers. The head of the association Kolb fears that if pensions cease to be linked to salary the individual's entitlement to a pension would be endangered.

According to Kolb, Basic Law offers protection for a pension in a manner similar to the way property protection is given by the law.

This means that legislators have limitations on how they can alter the pension structure.

If the contribution was governed by net production this would weaken the relationship that has prevailed until now between contribution and pension.

The employer's contribution would no longer be put to the account of the insured person, and consequently would not be regarded as part of the pension paid on retirement.

The Federal Constitutional Court has ruled that the protection offered at law of the employee's share would be reduced if a contribution such as a robot tax was made legal, unrelated to salary.

Kolb believes that cash raised in this way would be at the "disposition of the legislators".

He added: "The legislators acquire a room for manoeuvre that we can no longer influence."

He came to the conclusion that this would lead to a levelling out of pensions.

Pension insurers take the view that a reduction in the protection given to an employee's pension, paid in over many years, is the main objection to a robot tax.

Just what effect a change in the employer's contribution would have, taking into consideration the firm's competitive position, is hard to say in practice.

Schmähl believes that half the companies in the country would be involved. A change would be very much to the advantage of the processing industries, but to the disadvantage of trade, transportation and private service industries.

Schmähl talks of a "global tendency" but he refers also to differences, particularly if various net product figures are used.

If a gross net production figure is used the employer's contribution in the capital-intensive oil refining industry would increase tenfold.

If a net production figure is used without depreciation, the contribution would only be two and a half times as high.

Schmähl corrected a widely held assumption on the effect of a robot tax on small and medium-sized companies.

Since the labour of self-employed and family members is included in the net production figure, the burden on the firm increases through the high proportion of such workers.

Advocates of robot tax have made use of the argument that by such a step the "work factor" would be relatively cheaper than the "capital factor".

Employers get someting from this. Labour costs can be braked by restraint in wage negotiations. The proposal was not meant to do this.

Michael Brandt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 April 1985)

Later retirement for some is a possible answer

People have more and more leisure time in West Germany, more holidays, fewer working weekends, earlier retirement.

Only two out of every five West Germans are today working. Only forty per cent of West Germans create the material basis for themselves and the other sixty per cent of the population.

There are 6.4 million West Germans between the age of 58 and 68. A million are working and 100,000 are unemployed. The remaining 5.3 million are in retirement. And this begins "in a man's prime", on average at 58.

Pension insurance shows that on average men go into retirement at 57.9 years of age. The figures show that 49 per cent of new pensioners are on average 54 years of age. The legal pensionable age of 65 is on paper only.

At the same time that the population is in decline life expectancy is on the increase. Males who retire today at the age of 54 have a life expectancy of a further twelve years, women 19 years.

Fewer working people with a shorter working week and working life (on average the working life is 38 years) have to provide for more non-workers.

It is no surprise, then, that Employment Minister Norbert Blüm is thinking of extending working life after 1990.

The SPD and the trades unions have accused him of programming "the dismantling of social achievements".

But how else can the pension burden be shared out? The second question is: how contented is a 54-year-old man who is freed from the obligation of having to go to work.

And it can be asked if working life should not be so arranged as to take into account the individual's requirements, the needs of the company and workers' claims?

The first question can be easily answered. If working life is not made more flexible and no solution is found (such as a "robot tax") contributions will have to increase considerably and pension benefits will have to be reduced. In forty years' time a worker must provide for one old-age pensioner.

The second question has been answered by the BAT leisure research institute in a paper "Leisure in retirement" by Professor Horst W. Opaschowski.

People taking early retirement today between the ages of 58 and 68 (born between 1916 and 1926) "lost their youth between two world wars." Professor Opaschowski maintains: "The generation over 58 have only a limited education background in comparison to the population as a whole. Eighty-five per cent of this group only have elementary schooling as opposed to 58 per cent of the total population."

This generation, he says in his study, "feels neglected". They observe how the succeeding generation enjoys a better education, leisure time and consumer possibilities. Behind the high expectations this generation has of retirement "there is concealed the secret wish to make up for what they have missed."It can be understood then that 73 per cent of the 58- to 68-year-olds in retirement are "satisfied" with their leisure time. Every fourth pensioner, however, is "disappointed" or "dissatisfied with his or her newly-won freedom".

This is particularly true of young pensioners who can no longer satisfy their urge to have something to do. Of these, who on the whole pass positive judgments on their retirement, only three per cent claim that retirement has come up to their expectations, only five per cent say they have no financial worries and only twelve per cent claim that they are not bored.

Finally it is worth noticing that the study shows that 80 per cent of those questioned do not want to be "old people" and 56 per cent "pensioners".

Professor Opaschowski said: "The advantages of a modest old age have been stylised into the ideal for a whole generation. No one can expect of the 50- to 60-year-old generation a positive adjustment to a negatively experienced retirement."

In this sense Opaschowski pleads for a flexible working life.

This brings us to the third question. Retirement is a recent discovery. Previously people worked until the end of their lives. In 1889 the pensionable age was 70. In 1916 this was reduced to 65.

Gerontologists maintain that this age level is quite arbitrary. In 1970 in America the retirement age was lifted again from 65 to 70 — incidentally with the bitter opposition of the 84-year-old AFL/CIO boss George Meany.

Opaschowski does not regard this solution as the best. He said: "The needs of the moment are not obligatory retirement arranged by employers or legislators but a strong individual approach to working life in the last ten years of a person's working career, which means flexibility of retirement age upwards. Adjustment problems are demonstrably fewer the greater the freedom there is to change from working life to retirement."

The ideal position would be to make it possible for a gradual withdrawal from working life. There are attempts to this end in West Germany. In the firm Ferdinand Pieroth 60-year-olds work a week five hours fewer a week. Sixty-five year-olds and up to 67, and in some exceptions beyond that, can carry on working. This system could be of assistance to pension insurance, but above all to those involved.

Peter Jentsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 9 April 1985)

■ FINANCE

International money markets use their imagination

Frankfurter Allgemeine

More and more ways of dealing with liquidity problems are being devised on the international money markets.

This is not being done purely because of a sense of creativity: serious liquidity problems have been created by the debt crisis in South America and budget deficits in the United States.

Basically, the schemes all mean using short-term loans to cover long-term obligations, some of which have been frozen.

The dollar is the most widely-used currency in financial markets. Over 85 per cent of international monetary dealings is in dollars.

But the deutschemark is now the world's second-largest reserve currency, and the Federal Republic of Germany is far more heavily dependent on foreign trade than either the United States or Japan.

Yet while the deutschemark is part of the overall international financial market, its use as a Eurocurrency has so far been substantially restricted, partly by gentlemen's agreements between the Bundesbank and the banks, partly by banking regulations.

German banks prefer to do their offshore business, as it were, in Luxembourg. But Luxembourg has only one part to play, admittedly an important one, as a free finance market for German foreign trade in particular.

In a nutshell, Luxembourg is no substitute for a Frankfurt Euromarket.

At the 14th German Banking Congress in Bonn Bundesbank president Karl Otto Pöhl indicated a definite change of mind on the central bank's part on Euromarkets and frankly endorsed internationalisation of the deutschemark.

The Bundesbank used to have misgivings about the deutschemark developing into a reserve currency, partly because it heightened the trend toward revaluation, partly because the bank felt its monetary leeway would be restricted as a result.

"In this form these misgivings are no longer warranted," Herr Pöhl said in Bonn.

The importance of the deutschemark as an investment and reserve currency had declined in the wake of exchange-rate trends and on account of the relatively low interest rates in the Federal Republic.

"If this trend were to continue," he said, "the deutschemark could come under pressure to devalue. That is pressure we must counteract."

In other words, petrodollar investors and foreign central banks have parted company with some of their deutschemark investments over the past few years and invested in the dollar instead.

The exchange rate of the deutschemark has come under pressure as a consequence and the Bundesbank would prefer to see the German currency regain the prestige it enjoyed as a potential revaluer.

An important step in the direction of eliminating handicaps has been taken now stamp duty on German bonds has been scrapped for foreign investors.

It was, Herr Pöhl says, a step in the right direction, and further steps are under consideration.

The same goes for innovations that have come into their own in other markets and from which the German market cannot in the long term be excluded.

But the Bonn congress made it clear that what both the Bundesbank and commercial bankers would like to see is likely to clash with the many regulations the banking supervision authority exists to enforce.

There was a foretaste in Bonn of this clash between forward strategy in financial dealings and the supervision authority's terms of reference.

Wolfgang Kuntze, president of the Berlin authority, warned banks not to use innovations to undermine yet again the latest amendments to the Credit Act.

If foreign subsidiaries of German banks were to issue notes rather than loans, they were, in his authority's view, to be considered securities that counted toward a bank's mandatory credit ceiling.

Herr Kuntze justified this opinion, which runs counter to established practice in Eurocredit markets, by saying that notes could not be discounted as irrelevant for calculating credit ceilings because they did not have an official stock market quotation.

This viewpoint meets with little understanding in practice because even US Treasury bonds are traditionally not quoted on the stock market.

Market dealings in fixed-interest government bonds are in any case a typically German speciality, whereas in the dollar market fixed-interest bond rates are simply phoned through from bank to bank.

This difficulty, that of granting only officially quoted securities certain privileges, exists in domestic investment dealings too.

In one respect the Bundesbank goes even further than the commercial banks in the market liberalisation it would like to see come about. It would like to scrap the capital market committee that supervises deutschemark bonds raised by foreign issuing institutions.

The Bundesbank clearly seems to have been prompted to suggest liberalising bond issues by subsidiaries of foreign banks in Germany.

In other words, you can't have one without the other — even if the German capital market were to face extra difficulties as a result.

Herr Kuntze stressed in Bonn that the banking supervision authority agreed everything that wasn't expressly banned was permitted.

But that didn't mean *carte blanche* for innovations.

The small print is definitely where the difficulties lie in derestricting financial markets. In individual instances the

Modification

banks, the Bundesbank and the banking supervision authority will need to get together to breathe life into Herr Pöhl's endorsement of deutschemark internationalisation while respecting limits to freedom.

Herr Pöhl himself had this to say: "I don't believe we must go as far as setting up a free-trade zone for Euromarket transactions along American lines in this country.

"But it would be desirable if certain modifications to minimum reserve provisions were to make it possible to handle a certain amount of Eurodealings in the German market."

Does that amount to partial endorsement of the idea of a Euromarket place in Germany? There were, Herr Pöhl said, to be no more taboos.

Heinz Brestel

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 March 1985)

Russians seek alternative to the dollar

Moscow is on the lookout for an alternative to the dollar in international business transactions. Bundesbank president Pöhl and other German bankers returned from a visit to the Soviet capital with this rumour some time ago; it has now been confirmed.

From the Soviet viewpoint the deutschemark and sterling are strictly limited in their suitability as an alternative. What, then, about the Ecu, the artificial currency that is gaining ground in Europe even in the private sector?

Soviet state bankers have asked their Western counterparts this question.

Moscow is bound to see using the Ecu as a regular denomination as an interesting possibility: partly as a counterweight to the dollar, partly as a means of gaining access to loans at favourable interest rates.

The European currency unit can hardly fail to be a tempting mixture in transactions with countries such as Italy and France with their high interest rates.

By the same token countries that have difficulties in financing exports to the Soviet Union on account of their high interests are bound to be tempted by the idea of dealing in Ecus.

French credit facilities, currently amounting to an effective annual interest rate of 13.6 per cent, are too expensive for Soviet principals.

That was why the Franco-Soviet joint economic affairs commission, meeting in Paris, has agreed to use the Ecu as the unit of account in financial transactions between their two countries.

This agreement confirms what for months has been a clearly ascertainable Soviet trend, including activities in Euromarkets.

Not all Western European countries welcome this strengthening of the EMS currency unit by the East Bloc and the Soviet Union of all people. As one banker put it in Moscow : "Frankly, that wasn't what we had in mind"

The time was certainly not yet ripe for reorganising the financing of trade with the East Bloc on an Ecu basis, as suggested by the Soviet Union.

Where the Federal Republic of Germany was concerned, for instance, Moscow did not even stand to gain in terms of interest rates.

All bankers concerned are well aware

Continued on page 9

■ TRANSPORT

The boss sweeps up as VWs roll (slowly) off the Shanghai line

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Between 12 and 15 Santana cars are built each day at the VW Shanghai works. They are put together by hand.

But this only the beginning for this joint Chinese-German project. It is hoped that the works will be able to get into the whole of South East Asia with Santanas, the Audi 100 and with various station wagon models.

It is also hoped that VW motors will be supplied to other motor manufacturers in the region.

Technical director Hans-Joachim Paul says that China has a billion people, and that if in the foreseeable future only one in 10 were to own a car, that would represent a market of 100 million vehicles.

The works is about 40 kilometres, or an hour's drive, from Shanghai, China's second largest city (population: 12 million).

Volkswagen has half the equity. The rest of the DM200 million capital is held by the Bank of China and two Chinese tractor and car firms.

When the premier of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, visited the works, there was not very much physically for him to see.

Only part of the factory has been built. The paint shop is in operation and production is being carried out in workshops formerly used by a Chinese firm to make the three-wheel cars which are widely used in China.

This is an interesting experience for Germans working on the project. Recently, a departmental head of the manufacturing subsidy, VW Shanghai, was wanted for a meeting. But he was nowhere to be found.

After a desperate search, he was discovered on ther factory floor — sweeping it. A West German technician asked with some astonishment what the man was doing.

The reply was that the party leadership required him regularly to do manual labour so he would not lose touch with the working class.

The man had followed the party directive with neither difficulty nor complaint.

Paul wants the best and the newest so that production will increase rapidly.

He wants to impress upon the Chinese the VW trade name on giant roadside posters, a regular feature in major Chinese cities since the new Peking policy of opening up the country and allowing a degree of independence.

Everyone should know who and what VW is.

He is not particularly disturbed by the fact that in this enormous country there are very few roads suitable for motor vehicles, no workshops in the countryside, and that large cities such as Peking, Shanghai or Canton have very few filling stations.

China is on the verge of moving into the future, but for the first stretch of the way into industrial development the bicycle, the hand cart and the omnibus will have to be used.

Paul is unimpressed that Chinese officials, for whom the Santana is being built, are not happy with the car.

The car is narrow at the back and a senior Chinese official wants to sit on the rear seat, if he is being driven, preferably with the dark curtains drawn across the windows.

Volkswagen's man in Shanghai will come up with something. So far almost everything has been shipped out from Europe, sometimes even being sent by airfreight — every screw and every engine, the car bodies, batteries and headlights, every transmission set and all the upholstery, every instrument panel, the car roof and even the car keys.

Up to now only the tyres are made in the People's Republic — on old Metzler equipment that the Chinese dismantled in West Germany and re-assembled in China.

But this will all change in this decade. Domestic production will account for 90 per cent of production in five to seven years.

A beginning is being made with equipment to press the car body, because sending these unwieldy parts halfway round the world is very expensive.

The plant planned will call for an investment of DM500 million. More than a half, about DM300 million, will be from West Germany, the remainder will be raised in China.

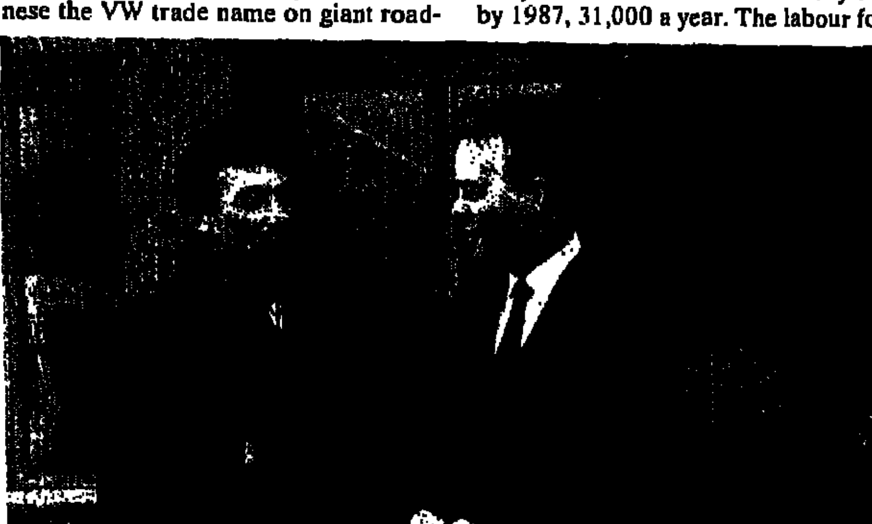
Paul reminds the supplier industries not to miss the boat. These suppliers will have to invest about 500 million marks but they shouldn't let the chance slip by to get involved.

In autumn, if all goes well, daily production should reach 40 a day.

By 1986 it should be 100 a day and by 1987, 31,000 a year. The labour force of 2,800 works a six-day week, of course, like all Chinese. The time when the three-wheeled Phoenix car was produced in the Volkswagen plant, a car that still does its duty well, is now in the Chinese past.

Hans-Peter Sattler

(Hann. Allgemeine, 10 April 1985)



VW Shanghai technical director Hans-Joachim Paul (left) and the Prime Minister of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht, who dropped in to see how things were going. (Photo: Hans-Peter Sattler)

Planned ferry link

Talks to open with Russians on rail-ferry link across Baltic

Bonn Transport Minister Werner Dollinger has been given the green light to talk with the Russians about setting up a rail-sea link between West Germany's Baltic coast and the Soviet Union. Nato has withdrawn objections on security grounds since it has been announced that the German port involved would be Travemünde. The Soviet Union would use Klaipeda, in the Soviet Baltic republic of Lithuania.

The Russians were the first to show an interest in a Baltic rail-ferry service — they first mentioned it in 1981.

They said their Baltic ports of Klaipeda, in Lithuania, and Tallinn, in Estonia, were overstrained. The more even flow of a ferry service would alleviate this.

It would also lead to expanded trade on both sides and avoid the bottlenecks of road routes through East Germany and Poland.

Western reservations were based on possible military and strategic advantages the Russians might gain.

The Schleswig-Holstein *Land* government favoured the project and the ports of Kiel, Lübeck and Flensburg all entered the race for consideration as the terminal (Travemünde is just a few kilometres from Lübeck).

Between four and six ferries would be needed and some of the work would be at West German shipyards.

This, plus the cargo-handling equipment, would amount to a big investment, about a billion marks, and the advantages for Schleswig-Holstein would be considerable.

The *Land* goverment at Kiel believes that all West German firms trading with the East Bloc would benefit if goods were diverted from the expensive land route through East Germany and Poland to the sea route.

This would also benefit the West Germans because of their 50 per cent interest in the ferry operation.

But not everybody favours the project. The military are against it, and the ports of Hamburg and Bremen along with coastal shipping interests fear that they will lose cargo.

Shipping companies are also worried that the Russians will use the link to bring in container cargo for the Far East.

This cargo would be taken to the Far East by the trans-Siberian railway in stead of by ship — in part Western European ships.

Shipper interests and the major transportation organisations have been guarded so far because precise details are not yet available.

Technical details about cost and on infra-structure at Klaipeda and at Travemünde are also not yet available.

There has also been no clarification about which tariff would be applied on goods carried to Schleswig-Holstein and what would be the costs of converting West German wagons to the Russian gauge and vice versa.

Russian railways use a wider gauge than Western Europe.

It is at this point that transport policy considerations come into their own. There is no sense in having a cargo-handling depot where transport costs are higher and there are delays.

It was originally conceived that there would be a terminal where the wagons were re-axled for both rail networks.

The best place for this would be at Klaipeda because rail wagons with the normal gauge arriving in West Germany could proceed without delay.

In addition the ferries could be used on other routes.

It is obvious that the Russians would not agree to this.

The chaotic organisation of the Soviet railways means that the wagons that can be re-axled are in service all over the Soviet Union, not just on the route to and from Klaipeda.

Even if the total cargo volume carried on the land route were transferred to the sea route the volume would not make full use of the service's capacities as it is at present envisaged.

On the other hand it would only be possible to increase Russian-West German trade by a ferry link if there is a guarantee of continuous cargo traffic in rail wagons.

There is uncertainty that the Russians are prepared to make political concessions to have the re-axling operation at Klaipeda, for instance.

At the present the situation seems to be that in ordinary free market conditions there is an inadequate volume of cargo for the ferry service, so the Russians will try to attract cargo at a political, or dumping, price.

The Russians have acquired plenty of know-how onhow to do this in international liner shipping.

Jan Brech

(Die Welt, Bonn, 10 April 1985)

RESEARCH

German Spacelab project begins to get into gear

Frankfurter Rundschau

The go-ahead has been given for payloads and experiments on board the German Spacelab mission, the D-1, at least for the shipment of 13 tonnes of equipment to the United States.

A delegation of German Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR) officials has visited Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm's Erno division in Bremen to OK work of the engineers who prepared the payload for its mission.

Spacelab's D-1 (short for Deutschland 1) payload will be flown from Bremen to Cape Canaveral at the end of April.

There it will be given the finishing touches in preparation for a launching originally planned for 14 October.

But as the Americans are currently having trouble with the space shuttle (while for once everything is running smoothly in Europe), this deadline will probably be deferred.

The delay is likely to be no more than 10 or 20 days, however, as Nasa is very interested in seeing its German customer airborne smoothly and according to schedule.

D-1 is the first Spacelab mission of which Germany is in sole charge. It is also the first mission for which a non-US user has hired the exclusive services of the space shuttle.

The Bonn Research and Technology Ministry is paying Nasa DM165m of project costs totalling DM394m. This payment is to cover the cost of launching, flight and other services provided by the US agency.

The Bonn Ministry must also pay for the use of the Bremen-built Spacelab. After its maiden flight in December 1983 the capsule became Nasa property.

This provision formed part of contractual undertakings entered into more than 10 years ago.

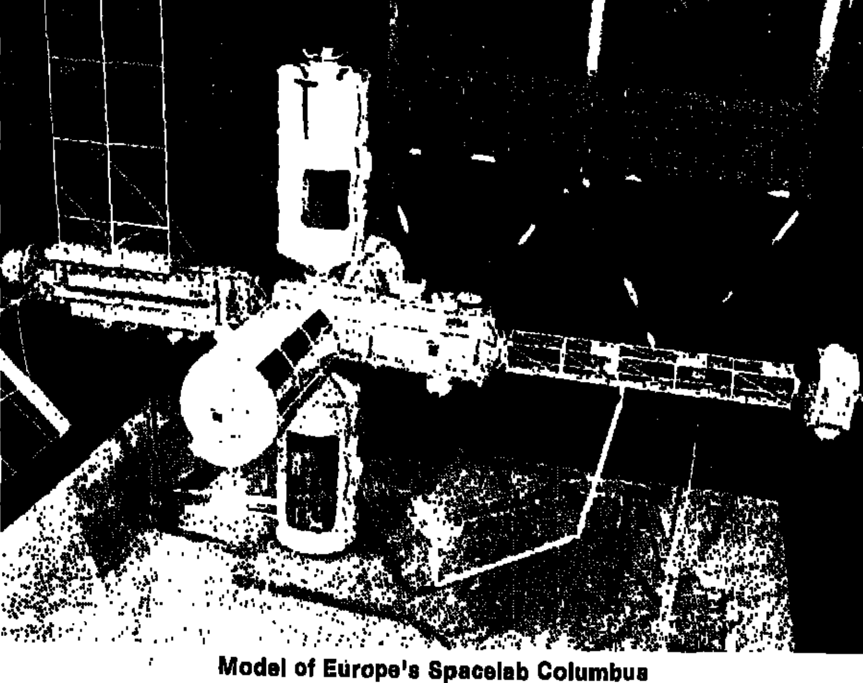
On its D-1 mission Spacelab will fly in almost the same version as in 1983.

The pressurised cabin where astronauts will carry out experiments is again to be housed in the capsule's loading bay. A research platform with a variety of equipment will also be located outside the cabin.

Some of the 70-odd experiments assembled in Bremen have already been up in space; others are new developments.

They will be supervised by six astronauts, including two Germans, who are to work round-the-clock in shifts throughout the mission.

The Germans are physicists Reinhard Furrer, 44, and Ernst Messerschmid, 39.



Model of Europe's Spacelab Columbus (Photo: dpa)

They will be accompanied by Wubbo Ockels, 38, from Holland.

Ockels was stand-in for the first German astronaut, Ulf Merbold, in 1983. Merbold is also a member of the D-1 team and training with them.

But he is only a substitute this time and will be at the space operations centre to maintain radio contact with the astronauts.

The five US astronauts will either work alongside the others in Spacelab or man the space shuttle's controls.

Space shuttle Columbia will be supervised and controlled from Houston as hitherto, but all experiments will for the first time be supervised from an ops centre outside the United States.

It will be the GSOC, short for German Space Operations Centre, in Oberpfaffenhofen, near Munich, which was set up in the early 1970s to monitor German satellites and space probes such as Aeros, Symphonie, Helios and others and is now being converted to handle Spacelab.

Most space experiment staff will be at Oberpfaffenhofen to follow their progress and will in some cases be able to evaluate findings themselves.

They include universities and research institutes and private firms from all over the Federal Republic of Germany. Other experiments are sponsored by Esa, the European Space Agency, Cnes, France's National Space Research Centre, and Nasa.

Facilities include a process chamber where currents, heat and mass movement in melting and solidification processes at zero gravity are to be tested.

The materials laboratory will be back in action (it was on board the first mission, a joint Euro-American venture).

The materials lab will house three kilns where metals can be melted, new alloys produced and crystals bred. D-1 will even boast a miniature botanical garden.

It will feature watercress roots, maize shoots and aniseed cell cultures. Their growth is to be studied in outer space.

Biological and medical experiments will be undertaken alongside the botanical variety. Tadpoles' development will be studied. Astronauts' vein pressure and, for the first time, pressure inside the eye, is to be measured.

Adaptation of the human sense of balance to zero gravity is to be tested by means of the vestibule sledge, a seat on runners mounted in the central corridor of the laboratory.

It can be moved to and fro to exact specifications by a tow-rope and electric motor.

This acceleration is combined with stimulus of the inner ear, which is where the human sense of balance is located, and striped patterns for eye stimulus.

For this purpose the astronaut will wear a special helmet recording eye movement in the dark by means of an infra-red closed-circuit camera. Pulse, breathing and skin readings will also be taken.

Nuclear timepieces and antennas for the Navex experiment are housed outside the pressurised cabin. Navex will test navigation and chronometric synchronisation aimed at accuracy to within about 10 nanoseconds, or billionths of a second.

The process is also devised to enable Spacelab's position to be measured to within 30 metres.

D-1 will not be a one-off mission. The Bonn Research and Technology Ministry last year began paying Nasa instalments toward the cost of a D-2 mission scheduled for 1988.

D-2 will be designed to reuse the present payload as far as possible. It will also be laid on to give new users access to outer space.

This follow-up mission must be seen in connection with projected European participation in a US space station. In 1988 payloads and operation systems will be tested for Europe's Columbus space station module.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 April 1985)

Continued from page 7

that Moscow is testing its case with political aims in mind and pursuing a strategy of driving wedges between Europe and America in both financial and arms markets.

The Soviet Union does not pretend to be happy with the preeminent role of the dollar in world trade. From the Kremlin's point of view its strength is little short of an insult to the rouble.

For political reasons the rouble has been revalued on a par with the dollar and is now vastly and unrealistically overvalued.

The political objective of Soviet financiers, who do nothing unpremeditated or without the approval of political leaders, is a point Western bankers would do well not to lose sight of.

Peter Seidlitz

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 11 April 1985)

■ LITERATURE

Ernst Jünger, controversial great loner, sees in 90

Kieler Nachrichten

Ernst Jünger, who celebrated his 90th birthday on 29 March, is one of this century's most controversial German writers.

He has the reputation of being the great loner of German literature and his works have always provoked conflict.

It is often claimed that he has more critics than readers; he is either highly respected and admired or rejected. A compromise is impossible.

The sharp criticism of his views has accompanied him for four decades.

He is often accused of being complacent, unremorseful for some of his past inconsistencies or arrogantly prophetic.

This, it is often claimed, is rooted in his fundamentally anti-democratic attitudes.

A number of writers with left-wing leanings, on the other hand, such as Erich Fried or Alfred Andersch feel that Jünger has courageously accepted personal responsiblity, shown chivalry and honesty.

As opposed to the majority of the most prominent German writers during the Nazi era, Jünger decided not to emigrate.

Thomas Mann accused him of living together "with the hangmen".

However, Jünger's novel *Auf den Marmorklippen*, published in 1939, is a clear anti-Nazi lampoon.

Jünger was never an active nor passive supporter of the Nazis. Neither was he an opportunist.

However, there are serious contradictions in some of his books which displease today's readers, leaving them wary of him.

Books such as *In Stahlgewittern, Der Kampf als das innere Erlebnis, Die totale Mobilmachung* or *Der Arbeiter — Herrschaft und Gesalt* made Jünger a writer acceptable to the Nazis, for in these works Jünger glorifies soldiery and war.

However, they ignored the fact that Jünger regarded himself as greatly superior to Hitler's supporters, whom he felt to be plebeian and vulgar.

Jünger, a pharmacist's son from Heidelberg, felt cramped by the narrow milieu of bourgeois family life.

At the age of seventeen he fled to France to join the foreign legion and could only be fetched back to Germany following intensive efforts by his father.

He was neither a democrat nor pacifist, monarchist nor a German National conservative.

More than anything else, he was a conservative anarchist, a "Prussian", as he calls himself in *Das abenteuerliche Herz* published in 1929.

In this book he sees himself as an anarchist, who "wanders through the chaos of the world seeking guiding



Ernst Jünger... could not please everyone. (Photo: Sven Simon)

principles for a new order, armed solely with the categorical imperative of the heart".

Jünger was a voluntary recruit during the First World War, in which he was injured fourteen times and received the highest military decorations including the *pour le mérite* order.

His almost metaphysical account of his wartime adventures in *In Stahlgewittern* is early proof of a cool and abstract analytical approach to writing.

Jünger already showed himself as someone who was fascinated by the character of war rather than motivated by the vision of overcoming it.

This characteristic can still be found in later works, for example in his book *Die Zwille* written in 1971.

Here, at the age of almost eighty Jünger uses the two-tier metaphor of the horrific and the sudden to portray younger days. Is it exaggerated to cl that Jünger was consistently entang in a web of contradictions?

In the mid-thirties Jünger refused to become a member of the "Section for the Art of Poetry at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin".

During this period he was one of the intellectual supporters of the magazine *Widerstand*, issued by Germany's conservative opposition to Hitler.

In a publication entitled "Hitler — German Disaster" the publisher of the magazine, Ernst Niekisch, adopted a clearly anti-Nazi stance.

Jünger's views were never so clearly expressed. The driving force of his existence was to be alone, to deal with the "self-dissolution processes of bourgeois society".

It is therefore absurd to try to blame Jünger for being involved in the events of the Nazi years.

Today, Ernst Jünger is probably more widely read in France than in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Many French readers regard Jünger as the epitome of non-conformism.

Joseph Breitenbach already introduced the German officer Ernst Jünger to André Gide in 1938, and Jünger was acquainted with Cocteau and could often be found in the studios of Braque or Picasso.

Today, Ernst Jünger presents himself as an artist, "on a par with lords and princes", a "man with a mission", of "sacred importance".

These are just a few of the maxims and reflections which can be found in his book *Autor und Autorenschaft.*

Wolf Scheller

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 March 1985)

■ PHILOSOPHY

Humboldt demonstrated what language really is

Seldom have theory and practice been so harmoniously combined as in the person of Prussian educational reformer and world-famous linguist and philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt.

He died 150 years ago, on 8 April 1835, so his trailblazing ideas and reforms had a lasting effect, certainly surviving until student unrest in the late 1960s.

The class of '68 in Germany was very much in favour of Humboldt's ideal of free education in the sense of generalism unhampered by the narrow confines of career considerations. But to no avail; universities still became mass training facilities.

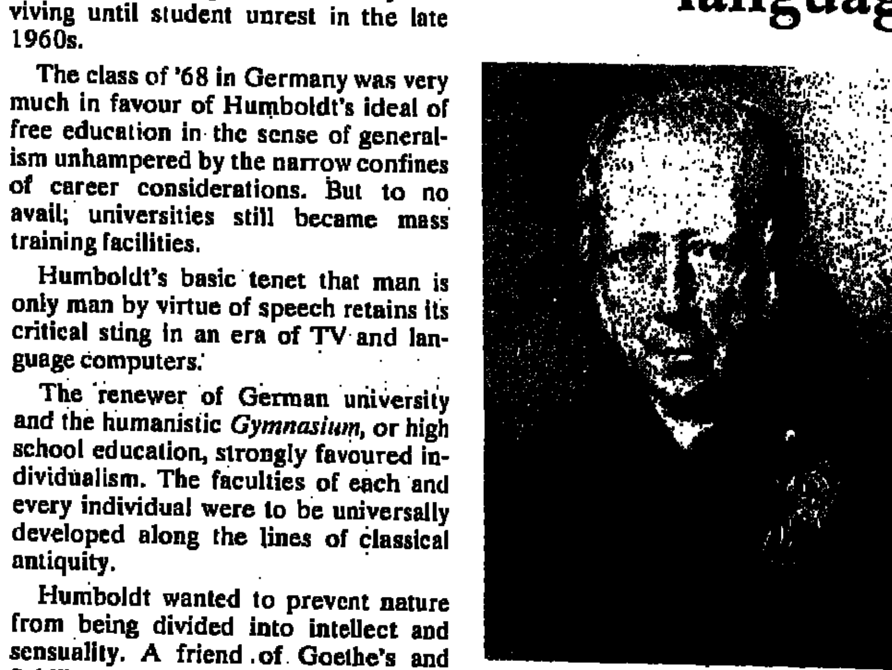
Humboldt's basic tenet that man is only man by virtue of speech retains its critical sting in an era of TV and language computers.

The renewer of German university and the humanistic *Gymnasium*, or high school education, strongly favoured individualism. The faculties of each and every individual were to be universally developed along the lines of classical antiquity.

Humboldt wanted to prevent nature from being divided into intellect and sensuality. A friend of Goethe's and Schiller's, he was a cosmopolitan humanist who saw every language as having an individual and distinctive world view.

He was born on 22 June 1767, the eldest son of a Prussian court official in Berlin, the city where he was to die aged 67. But inner unrest and frequent change typify his life.

Humboldt was privately educated and considered particularly gifted at languages. He and his younger brother



Wilhelm von Humboldt... keeping intellect and sensuality together. (Photo: Historia)

Alexander, the scientist, were familiar figures in the "Berlin Enlightenment" and its literary *salons.*

He published his first essay, on Plato and Socrates, at 20. He studied in Göttingen, the fashionable university, everything from philosophy to law.

He took a law degree in 1790 and went into the civil service, but found the work too restricting and retired a year later, married and settled on his estate to pursue his studies.

Husband and wife allowed each other "total freedom." Their letters, filling seven volumes of which only a selection has been published, make delightful reading.

He first dealt with constitutional theory and sought to delineate the "limits of efficacy of the state." Then he came under the influence of Schiller and moved to Jena, where the poet and playwright was a university teacher.

He was a favourite partner in discussion with Schiller and soon came to be on good terms with Goethe too, as evidenced by his 1799 book on Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea.*

Humboldt had yet to arrive at a style of his own. So he withdrew from the overwhelming personality of Schiller and settled in Paris.

Further "years of wandering" took him Spain, where regional dialects prompted him to devise a method of linguistic comparison that laid the empirical groundwork for his later philosophy of language.

He eventually arrived in Rome, which he felt was a "world university," and intensified his linguistic studies.

The humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon prompted him to return to Berlin and offer his services to the government. He reformed the Prussian educational system along the lines of humanistic ideals, founding the University of Berlin.

He was instrumental in ensuring the recruitment of outstanding lecturers and scholars such as Fichte, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Savigny, Hufeland and Niebuhr.

His political career was brought to an end by an intrigue in 1819. He had risen to the rank of Minister.

He devoted the last 15 years of his life, revered as the "wise man of Tegel"

Saarbrücker Zeitung

(an outer suburb of Berlin), to the study of languages.

His philosophy of language is gaining increasing importance in contemporary debate.

His main work, entitled On the Differences in Human Language Structure and Their Influence on the Intellectual Development of Mankind, was the preface to a three-volume study of the Kawi language which was not published until after his death.

Kavi is a priestly dialect spoken in Java. Humboldt also read Sanskrit and Chinese and was conversant with many languages and dialects of the Far East and the South Pacific.

He convincingly demonstrated that language is not a utensil but a never-ending activity that makes us into human beings.

Wolfgang Schirmacher

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 6 April 1985)

■ EXHIBITIONS

The crumbling giants and talking stones of Egypt

Allgemeine Zeitung MAINZ

When a start was made on raising the colossus from the ground, the stone crumbled and the giant broke into pieces. It was the largest obelisk ever constructed in Egypt. The twenty-four metre long artefact can still be seen in one of the granite quarries at Aswan, a silent witness of the incredible activity of the past.

Thousands of workers laboured in the quarries at the height of Egyptian culture. Whole expeditions, under the supervision of a royal official, were sent by the pharaoh into the desert.

The teams of quarry workers were accompanied by artisans, draughtsmen, stone-cutters and oarsmen for transportation on the Nile.

There were also shepherds for the animals that would be slaughtered and to look after the donkeys that were the workers' means of transport.

What they created has ended up in the world's museums. What they left behind, tools and incomplete artefacts, are still to be found where they were left.

If stones could speak the quarries would have whole novels they could narrate. Exploration of the pharaonic kingdom and its works of art always raises the question of the origins of the materials used. The glory of Egyptian works of art stand in glaring contrast to the simplicity of the techniques used.

The exhibition opened in Hildesheim "The Stones of the Pharaoh — From the Quarry to the Work of Art" deviates considerably from the usual way of looking at a work of art. It deals with aspects long neglected, the materials used and how they were obtained.

The exhibition is an inter-disciplinary project of the Geological Institute of Munich University and the state collection of Egyptian art housed in the Bavarian capital. The exhibition was financed by the Volkswagen Foundation, however, as part of the Foundation's support for "archeometry".

A team of geologists, minerologists and Egyptologists dug in the desert without anything. They visited over four hundred quarries, turning up the ground, hoeing the soil and smoothing down the ground surface.

Some of the quarries had, over thousands of years, been forgotten, others were in later times used as shrines. Even today a few Coptic churches shelter in what were once ancient quarries. The neglected workshops with their ravines and caverns are now remembered as military bases.Since 1977 the small team has tested and analysed thousands of rock examples and fed the results into a data bank. The tests and analyses are available to all museums.

Egyptologist Rosemaire Klemm and her geologist husband Dietrich Klemm, led the expedition "under oriental conditions". At the opening of the Hildesheim exhibition she reported on the many rock samples that had been sent to her for analysis, even from Leipzig.

The objects made of stone that now stand in museums can now be traced back to the quarries from which they came. Micro-size tests, taken at significant points, can also play an important role in establishing the genuinness of the objects. The stones have begun to talk so that "the theme, neglected by Egyptology", according to Bettina Schmitz of Pelizaeus Museum, can be tackled at last.

Ancient Egypt was "a state out of stone". All constructions that were meant to last to eternity were built of stone, temples to the gods, royal death chambers, royal and private burial sites.

The homes of the living were made of ephemeral materials such as wattle and wood. Tura limestone was as much favoured as granite and basalt. Rose-coloured granite was held in particular high esteem, especially for the false doors to graves. Those who could only afford simple limestone for their last resting place, tried to colour the stone so as to give a semblance of rose-coloured granite.

The Hildesheim exhibition has on display not only reliefs and sculptures but also the tests of the stone involved and explanations of the tools used.

Details are given of the techniques used to hue the stone and the transportation problems that had to be solved.

The optical attraction of the exhibition is the jewellery and amulets made from semi-precious stone. Stone as a material for eternity also played an important role as a means of conveying the written word. Messages chiselled in stone from the Egyptians have been preserved, in temple inscriptions, in graves, on statues, on royal and private stelae and on obelisks. The Greeks, who from the seventh century before Christ visited Egypt and saw the incomprehensible inscriptions, gave these "holy signs chiselled in stone" their name — hieroglyphs.

Ursula Bunte

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 6 April 1985)

Thirty centimetre high containers for the inner organs of mummified people. About 1200 BC. (Photo: Pelizaeus Museum)

1,000 years of China glitter against a black backdrop

DIE WELT

A collection of archaelogical treasures from the province of Zhejiang in south-east China is being exhibited at Phantasialand, a leisure park between Bonn and Cologne.

The exhibits, all between 100 and 7,000 years old, will be on show for seven months.

The exhibition shows the significance and advanced development of Chinese culture over thousands of years.

The halls have been painted black. In illuminated show cases there is jewellery, musical instruments, agricultural tools and blue-green ceramics.

Those who follow the suggested route through the exhibition move in a spiral ever deeper into the world of "the Middle Kingdom".

A head-dress made of silk glitters in gold in the cool light of one of the show windows. It comes from the Ming Dynasty and is about 600 years old.

A figure riding a horse, that was placed in a grave, is estimated to be 1,500 years old.

A mirror, decorated with people, a cart and horses was a much-valued household utensil in China 2,000 years ago.

A three-legged kettle in bronze is 700 years older. The craftsman of the time incised fine lines into the metal handle. The visitor can pass from the dark halls into the sunlight of the present and see Chinese artisans at work. There are woodcutters, silk is painted, a girl calligraphist writes characters with her thick brush on flimsy paper. And a young girl does embroidery in silk.

The Chinese from the People's Republic are guests at Phantasialand for seven months.

Obviously the background to the event is business. Gottlieb Löffelhardt and Richard Schmidt, owners of Phantasialand, "are selling" their knowledge of the leisure industry to the Chinese.

About six months ago they went to China to look at a site where the Chinese could set up a similar leisure park.

As a kind of "payment" the Chinese brought their artisans, cuisine and valuable exhibits on loan from the Zhejiany Museum in Hangzhou, the capital of the province.

When in seven months the new attraction in Phantasialand comes to an end the Chinese will get in return amusement attractions and technical know-how.

The guest visit is taking place in "Chinatown", which Schmidt and Löffelhardt set up four years ago as a monument to their fascination with China.

In 1970 they went to Nationalist China, Taiwan, travelled through the country with a camera and obtained from hundreds of photos an idea of the building style in the country.

From these details they were able to reconstruct with exactitude Chinese pagodas and temples.

Chinese artisans made piece by piece the roof tiles in the old, traditional style, constructed roof-ridges decorated with dragons, shaped ornaments and shipped them all to Europe.

In 1981 Chinatown in Phantasialand was ready — a synthesis of the most modern techniques and handicrafts embellished by saga and myth.

Maria Grohme

(Die Welt, Bonn, 12 April 1985)



Gottlieb Löffelhardt, part-owner of Phantasialand, and helper Lida Han with 1600-year-old ceramic container. (Photo: Phantasialand Brühl)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

'Ecological terrorist' battles council over rubbish

DIE ZEIT

The massive sandstone walls of Karl-Werner Schramm's home in Münchsreuth, population 300, stand out like a castle in the village.

It is a castle dating back to 1848 and a home from which Schramm, who comes from Bielefeld, defies authority in this small village near Bayreuth in Bavaria.

Bavarians view him with suspicion, first as a Prussian, as north Germans are disparagingly referred to by true-blue Bavarians, and also as a student of such a dubious subject as geo-ecology.

Studying the subject is bad enough. What makes matters even worse is the fact that Schramm, 28, also practises his theory and recycles his domestic waste instead of leaving it to the tender mercies of the garbage men.

He has been at loggerheads with the local authority and decried as an eco-terrorist for the past six months for refusing to take a dustbin or have anything to do with the official refuse disposal service.

The local authority has threatened him with litigation and punitive fines to force him to accept a dustbin he claims he can well manage without.

He opens the door and turns out to be slender and of medium height, wearing jeans and a maroon pullover. He is fair-haired, bearded and has a lean, sad face with a slight grin.

He clearly seems to be more of a Till Eulenspiegel than a Michael Kohlhaas or a Don Quixote; he is a practical joker rather than an untiring campaigner on matters of principle.

"Come on in," he says. He bought the old farmhouse for DM70,000. He and his wife Ute have renovated it in keeping with the original style. The previous owner had it listed as a historic monument, he explains, to prevent it from being demolished or left to run to rack and ruin.

Where are his eco-dustbins, or raw material containers, as he prefers to call them?

"The compost bin is in the kitchen," he says. "We use it for all food left-overs and other organic waste that is then dumped on the compost heap at the bottom of the garden."

There are small intermediate storage facilities for glass, metal, plastic and miscellaneous waste in the hall. Their contents are sorted in the outhouse.

In the outhouse and the barn there are larger boxes for tin cans (mainly cat food cans), textiles, paper, plastic and special waste (the official euphemism for toxic waste such as spent batteries).

How does he get on with plastic? One of the boxes is full of shampoo bottles, yoghurt beakers and plastic bags that once contained crackers.

"Well," he admits, "plastic recycling isn't properly organised yet. The nearest container for plastic waste is near Munich (two or three hours by car). When I have to go into town I take all the plastic with me on the trailer."

It is hardly worth industry's while recycling household plastic waste because various grades of plastic cannot be mixed.

There are firms that recycle plastic waste, but they usually only handle industrial waste in substantial quantities and specific qualities.

They melt, press or convert into granules recycled plastic that manufacturers are happy to buy at prices of between 40 pfennigs and DM2.50 per kilogram. But household plastic has to be sorted, which makes recycling more expensive.

"Industry ought to be obliged," Schramm says, "either to use a standard grade of plastic for certain products, such as shampoo bottles, or to identify materials by means a code-number to enable consumers to distinguish separate grades."

As so often, charities are pioneers in the recycling of waste. A Christian group not far from Schramm's village collects garbage of all kinds, including plastic.

Waste is sorted to the best of the group's ability and sold to various buyers, most satisfactorily in many cases, for 60 pfennigs a kilogram.

Large-scale trials in various localities have shown that the public are prepared to do much of the sorting. Up to 90 per cent of plastic waste has been dumped at special collecting facilities sufficiently publicised.

"One of these days," Schramm says, "there will be men who have made millions out of plastic waste just as there are already millionaire dealers in waste of other kinds."

Waste dealers in his part of Germany still earn more from the burnt-out hulks of US tanks and spent artillery shells than from Schramm's old tin cans, but small livestock also supply manure, as the German proverb has it.

In return Schramm strolls round junkyards on the lookout for waste he can put to good use: a rusty old bicycle frame or a length of piping, for instance.

Measure for measure, or tit for tat among junk dealers and pioneers in the recycling trade? Schramm says about a quarter of his furniture has been retrieved from junk yards and scrap heaps.

A teacher's son from Westphalia, he first had the idea of recycling waste when he worked in an old people's home as a conscientious objector after leaving school. He asked residents not to throw glass bottles and jars into the dustbin. Glass could certainly be sold direct to a waste dealer.

The old folk willingly left their old bottles and jars outside the door for collection. Some may have been a little self-conscious about their consumption of beer (or whatever) and have left the telltale bottles outside someone else's door, but at least they didn't throw them straight into the dustbin.

Within a year the old people's home was able to discontinue three garbage containers, saving a tidy amount of money in refuse collection bills.

In 1978 Schramm, 21, and his girlfriend and wife-to-be moved to Bayreuth to study geo-ecology. Bayreuth is the only college in Germany where the subject is taught. He is taking his final exams right now and will then be doing research at the department. He collects his household waste in the form of separate raw materials and is convinced city-dwellers could do so too without too much trouble.

"There are plenty of firms everywhere that will collect even waste food," he says.

Everyone could help to recycle at least half their household waste, especially if the authorities were to lend a hand.

Schramm's local authority isn't. It is strongly opposed to his bids to recycle waste. Last year it issued a bye-law requiring all residents to use the communal refuse disposal system and supply it exclusively with their waste.

"It's not just the money they want to charge for the service," Schramm explains. "They need what they call waste for their incinerator. It generates power and they are under contract to supply electric power to a nearby aluminium foundry."

Plastic burns well, and the local authority couldn't care less, he says, whether they are burning raw materials that could be recycled and polluting the environment in the process.

Schramm was certainly sent a letter calling on him to apply for a dustbin and supply his waste to the authority. The correspondence, in which the local authority refers to the Waste Disposal Act, makes intriguing reading.

It reads like a spoof correspondence between a practical joker and a past master of red tape. What makes it so special is that it is absolutely bona fide.

Schramm applied for exemption, arguing that he had no waste for the local authority, only valuable raw materials he preferred to sell on the open market. "All I could supply you with is thin air."

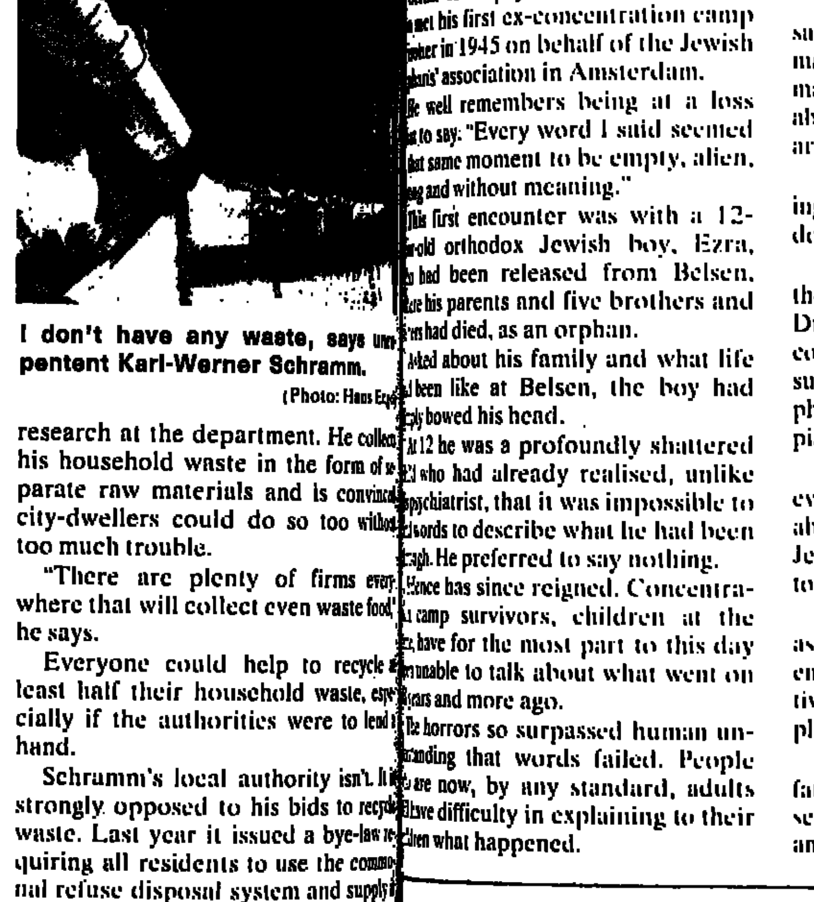
Besides, he wrote, the bye-law specified that residents were exempted when their land produced no waste, or only in exceptional circumstances.

The local authority replied that this provision only applied to landowners whose land was either not built on or whose property was not lived in. There was always waste where people lived.

Schramm replied that in his case there wasn't, as the authority was at liberty to see for itself by calling round and taking a look.

"As both a citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany and a factor in your waste disposal arithmetic I am not a statistical average; I am an individual

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I don't have any waste, says unrepentant Karl-Werner Schramm. (Photo: Hans [illegible])





■ THE THIRD REICH

40 years on, mental anguish of the holocaust remains

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Forty years ago Buchenwald concentration camp, near Weimar, was freed.

Survivors headed for the gate and freedom, but many have been for years unable to talk about what they went through.

Since 1945, Jewish psychiatrists have been dealing with the psychiatric repercussions of Nazi terror.

But only now are they speaking publicly about "what the Nazi holocaust has taught us" — that the after-effects of suffering last for generations.

Berlin child psychiatrist Hans Keilson met his first ex-concentration camp prisoner in 1945 on behalf of the Jewish orphans' association in Amsterdam.

He well remembers being at a loss what to say: "Every word I said seemed at that same moment to be empty, alien, strange and without meaning."

His first encounter was with a 12-year-old orthodox Jewish boy, Ezra, who had been released from Belsen, where his parents and five brothers and sisters had died, as an orphan.

Asked about his family and what life had been like at Belsen, the boy had simply bowed his head.

At 12 he was a profoundly shattered child who had already realised, unlike the psychiatrist, that it was impossible to find words to describe what he had been through. He preferred to say nothing.

Silence has since reigned. Concentration camp survivors, children at the time, have for the most part to this day been unable to talk about what went on 40 years and more ago.

The horrors so surpassed human understanding that words failed. People who are now, by any standard, adults still have difficulty in explaining to their children what happened.

They are unable to explain, Keilson says, because the truth, the industrial mass destruction and processing of human bodies, is so unbearable and an abyss of hell on earth for which words are inadequate.

The survivors' children are now asking questions. They have often tried to do so, but in vain.

As often as not the result is similar to the tale told by Professor de Wind, a Dutch psychoanalyst, about the son of a concentration camp survivor who was supposed never to ask about the framed photographs of his grandparents on the piano.

When he disobeyed the ban and one evening at dinner tried to ask his father about them his mother, who was not a Jewess, kicked his shin under the table to warn him not to bring up the subject.

Questions are growing more urgent as children suffer from their parents' silence and from behaviour and oversensitive reactions they are at a loss to explain.

A daughter may find it odd that her father never answers the telephone himself. He has all calls recorded by an answering device.

She may suspect what fears of death and persecution lie behind this kind of everyday "vanishing trick," but her father, who spent months hidden under a pile of potatoes and survived concentration camp, has never told his children what life was like.

"I guess that was his way of handling the return from Auschwitz and another world to planet Earth," says a Frankfurt psychotherapist.

Alongside the widespread silence born of shock there is now a fresh trend. After decades of refusing to talk about the dreadful past some concentration camp survivors now feel an overwhelming urge to communicate.

"At a historic distance of 40 years," says Cologne psychiatrist Professor Marneros, "they now seem to have found the words they lacked for so long."

Professor Uwe Henrik Peters, head of the neurological clinic at Cologne University Hospital, agrees.

Professor Peters invited 20 fellow-doctors, mainly Jewish psychiatrists and psychotherapists from Germany and Holland, to Cologne to help launch an international group of specialists in "psychiatry of persecution."

Doctors, some of whom were themselves survivors of Nazi terror and for years have worked as expert advisers in compensation proceedings, discussed identification problems in the second and third generation among persecutors and the persecuted.

They were agreed that the traumas of nations remained alive and continued to be effective for generations and even centuries.

What is new about post-Auschwitz psychiatry, as Professor Peters puts it, is that even adults can be so shaken by certain events, even individual experiences, that they are no longer able to regain their former personalities.

All their behaviour for the rest of their lives will be influenced by the persecution they have undergone.

In the past the Freudian version of imprint, the view that experiences in early childhood were decisive, prevailed.

According to Freud what we experience after the age of four is no longer so important for personal development because the foundations have by then been laid.

This view must now be abandoned. "If there is a lesson to be learnt, psychiatrically speaking, from these holocaust experiences," Keilson says, "then it must surely be that even adults can be given a totally different imprint by undergoing violence and terror."

Outsiders are unlikely to notice the destructive effect of past persecution on the mind of the survivor: knowing nothing about his past they are likely to consider him eccentric or overwrought.

Loss of home and family, of native language, years of threat to life and limb and unbelievable experiences have resulted in many people persecuted during the Third Reich still suffering from extremes of anxiety and insecurity.

They react oversensitively to any kind of setback or seemingly humiliating treatment at the hands of authoritarian structures, as Professor Peters puts it.

An unfriendly word from some civil servant or other, being called to order by a police officer or a swastika daubed on a cellar wall can cause days of agitation up to and including panic.

"What is so disastrous," Professor Peters says, "is that these people run a risk of being branded yet again. Someone is sure to conclude that only psychopaths survived."

Survivors and their families often fail to see why they are so frequently at odds with their surroundings and why they are passive and depressed, aliens in their own world, as it were.

Many survivors strenuously avoid recalling anything they underwent yet are constantly in inner mourning over their loss, combined with a feeling of guilt for having survived.

These feelings may well remain concealed until a single experience breaks the spell. One such person as a four-year-old saw heaps of corpses, but his crucial experience was seeing his father nailed by his hands and feet to a plank.

Forty years later he went beserk for no apparent reason at a carpenter's.

It is hardly surprising that most survivors' children, often children of survivors whose entire families were wiped out in concentration camps who then immediately remarried after liberation, were unable to grow up free of anxiety.

Frankfurt psychotherapist Dr Kaminer says of this second generation that it bears the names of the dead and has no grandparents and that the more keenly its parents felt their grief the less they will have talked with it about the dead.

They may have felt unable to pass on anything about them, but their children soon came to register the messages that failed to come across and to take stock of them.

It is far from unusual for traumatic experiences to have been transmitted in this unspoken way. A boy may tell his father about nightmares he suffers from only to learn that he has dreamt exactly what his father went through at concentration camp but never told him about.

Psychotherapists wonder how the child can have come by the information. Could the parents possibly have whispered it to each other?

Kaminer is in his late 30s. His parents were persecuted Jews. He says the mental state of the second generation, children mostly born in German camps in 1946 and 1947, is heavily overburdened.

Many would often have preferred to be dead or felt that part of themselves was not alive. They built a memorial to the dead within themselves, as it were.

At the same time this often gave expression to a desire to come closer, in an unconscious manner, to part of the family.

In many cases they identified with their parents in showing signs of sudden dullness and absentness such as are common among survivors.

Careful registration of and research into the lasting consequences of violence are not, specialists associated with the project say, intended to lead to a general psychopathology of survivors and their children.

The aim of the exercise is to bring together everyone in psychiatry who is working on the persecuted all over the world. What they want to accomplish, Professor Peters says, is "to make us historically aware of the fact that violence always makes a psychological mark that can influence families' lives for centuries."

The Third Reich years cannot, especially in Germany, be dismissed as a closed chapter in the book of history for which parents alone are to blame.

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■ HORIZONS

Church helps cravers beat the burning yearning

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

A Lutheran church group in Hamburg runs courses for people wanting to cure themselves of addictions.

Alcohol and tobacco, of course, head the list of vices, but there are many others: sweets and television, for example. One man even wanted to give up criticising other people.

The aid group runs short-term programmes to get people started on the straight and narrow and long-term programmes to prevent backsliding.

A seven-week programme began on Ash Wednesday under the sponsorship of the church's North Elbe public relations department and *Blickpunkt Kirche* (Church Viewpoint), a Hamburg newspaper.

One who joined up on Ash Wednesday is Herr K., the manager of a firm which has had to dismiss part of its workforce. The experience drove him to drown his sorrows in drink.

A 13-year-old schoolgirl is trying to stop her craving for sweet things. She says she has only just realised how much she consumes "and it is a lot."

She has joined the programme for support — she wasn't getting any from her fellow pupils in her efforts to change. They "ask if something is wrong with me."

A woman says her addiction was watching *Dynasty* on the television every Wednesday night.

Letters from the addicted arrive almost daily at the campaign offices. There has even been one from Australia.

The project began several years ago with a few hundred people. By last year more than 10,000 were estimated to have taken part.

Pastor Martin Bethge says people can give up what they want to for as short or as long a time as they want to.

The seven-week programme was a starting point for people to give up something that they had long wanted to give up.

So Passiontide, the two weeks before Easter, was used to fire the enthusiasm. It also created a link to former times when fasting over this period was not an exceptional event.

There are no limits to aims people set themselves and not everybody is Christian.

One person has personal problems, another wants a rest from the surfeit of the modern state.

What many Christians think is reflected in one sentence: "You cannot feel the passion of Jesus if you are sitting up to the neck in cream."

Letters of encouragement plus a calendar are used to keep the cravers on the right track. The letters spell out the problems involved in giving up a vice, how backsliding to old habits happens and lists possible causes of a breakdown of the will.

Expectations are high among the cravers. A man who gave up alcohol admitted freely that alone he didn't have the resolve and the discipline to give up. "I need support."

For those whose addiction is entrenched, much more is needed than a simple short dose of abstinence. The initial letter of encouragement in these cases admits that the project cannot fulfil all expectations. It could only touch on the problem.

One man wrote: "My wife and I are both 73. We have been smoking since our youth. We've tried over the years to give up, but without success.

"My wife has had a coronary and I have had a heart attack. We know the dangers of continuing to smoke but still cannot stop. If you think that you might be able to help us, we would be extremely grateful." Naturally, the campaign wants to help. It hopes that by taking such an interest in problems of this sort it might help awake a new relationship between people and the church.

Karsten Plog

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 26 March 1985)

Continued from page 13

Besides, an end to the problem of lasting traumas in the wake of terror, murder and war is nowhere near in sight, or so psychiatrists say:

"Similar occurrences recur all over the world, even though they may not be as dramatic as they were under the Nazis. Concentration camp experience has taught us to understand what mental repercussions they have."

In view of its historic burden, Professor Peters says, the Federal Republic of Germany ought to play a leading role in psychiatric research into persecution.

Yet so far not a pfennig in public funds has been provided for the project, which is shortly to continue with a symposium.

"The situation is," he says, "that the few people who are looking into a cure for this gravest of wartime wounds inflicted by the German people are having to foot the bill themselves."

Annelie Stankau

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 April 1985)

Boys' dream is man's nightmare

Childhood dreams of being an engine driver do not match up to the facts, an investigation has revealed.

The life of the engine driver is not only not glamorous, it is also a threat to both mind and body, the survey shows.

A team from the institute for sociology at Oldenburg University under Professor Bernhard Badura questioned 274 engine drivers from northern Lower Saxony. He said this is a representative sample.

Half the drivers were being treated by doctors, presumably for damage to health caused by working conditions.

The main culprit seemed to be shift work. Many drivers worked at nights and at weekends and spent nights away from home.

Noise, vibrations and cabin temperatures were among the causes. Working alone plus the weight of responsibility for transporting both people and goods contributed to physical and mental strain. The scoreboard:

- 66 per cent said they could not sleep properly.
- 52.5 per cent said they were always nervous.
- 43.3 per cent had stomach troubles.
- 43 per cent had rheumatics.
- 36 per cent had heart and circulation problems.
- 34.9 per cent often had headaches.
- 33.8 per cent often had trouble concentrating.

Drivers who worked special services involving particularly irregular hours were in an even more sorry state. Of these:

- 74 per cent had problems sleeping.
- 69.8 per cent were nervous.
- 46 per cent had stomach troubles.

More than half the drivers (53.6 per cent) had slipped discs. The investigators reported that in many old locomotives, drivers seats had no springs and as a result the vibrations were taken directly by the spine.

The Bundesbahn was installing new seats, but the process was slow.

The study also revealed that the amount of smoking among drivers varied according to how demanding the job was.

Forty four per cent of those with extremely irregular hours smoked but only 32 per cent of the others.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 23 March 1985)

Man bites dog

A drunken sailor bit a police Alsatian dog as attempts were being made to arrest him, say Munich police.

A spokesman for the prosecutor's office said railway police found the drunk at the *Hauptbahnhof* (main railway station). When he resisted arrest, a dog handler was called up.

The 38-year-old sailor immediately attacked the dog which, perhaps unsportingly, was muzzled. He wrapped his arms around it and bit it on the back of the neck.

The fighting man and dog overbalanced and tumbled down a flight of steps.

It was only then that the three policemen were able to make the arrest.

The biter faces charges of resisting the authority of the state, causing bodily injury and — because a dog counts as property — with damaging property.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 6 April 1985)

Taken for ride

A 16-year-old Frankfurt boy travelled round the world using a credit card, according to the police.

Trouble is, the card had been obtained on false pretences. The boy had told the credit institute that he was a doctor (the use of the title "doctor" is widespread in Germany), that he was 40 years of age and that he earned 50,000 marks a year and owned five houses.

He was believed. Police are only beginning their investigation, but think now that the original figure of 40,000 marks spent using the card is way below the actual figure.

Bill have come in so far from London, Paris, Rio de Janeiro and Hamburg.

The boy had shown a highly developed taste. He had used the best shops.

In Rio, for example, he had bought a diamond ring, a gold chain and an expensive watch which he sold for cash.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 28 March 1985)

Rock shock

Two highly respectable businessmen with two highly respectable cargoes to swap.

The man from Luxembourg had 18 old Russian icons and the man from Düsseldorf had 297 sapphires weighing a total of 920 carats. The total value of the deal was between 150,000 and 180,000 marks.

Authenticating certificates were exchanged and so were the goods.

But it was all a swindle. Both men had tricked each other. Valuers reckoned the icons were worth at most 7,000 marks and the sapphires 18,400 marks.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 3 April 1985)

Bedded bliss

About a million couples in the Federal Republic are not married, says a survey. Between 1972 and 1982, the number of people living together without being married increased nearly fourfold times.

These are projections based on a poll by the Emnid organisation and a microcensus by the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry.

Also revealed: only eight per cent of those questioned are against marriage on principle; 33 per cent have definite plans to marry; and 38 per cent are undecided about getting married.

ddp

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 April 1985)

Cancer girl finds mother

A 26-year-old women dying from leukaemia has finally contacted her mother who gave her out for adoption shortly after the birth (see photo).

The mother is the only known close relative and was needed to donate bone marrow for an operation needed to save the daughter's life.

Doctors say that the daughter's survival chances with an operation are between 50 and 60 per cent. Without, she would die within months.

The daughter lives in Hamburg. Her mother disappeared shortly after the birth and was only found after a campaign in the Press and television which realised 300 replies.

Eventually, Gisela Müller, 54, was discovered to be living in Düsseldorf. She has promised to help and is now being put through medical tests.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 April 1985)

(Photo: AP)



■ MISSIONS

Former SPD MP moves in as new head of Amnesty International

A former employee of the Bonn ministry responsible for allocating development aid is taking over in charge of the West German section of Amnesty International. Brigitte Erler came to believe that development aid does more harm than good. She says that much aid causes destruction of structural growth and only increases the exploitation of the masses by a small upper strata of society. "Development aid plays the same role . . . as Christian missions did in colonial times. It calms down the indigenous people and soothes our conscience. Political prisoners, on the other hand, really do need our help." Frau Erler, 41, is also a former Social Democrat MP in Bonn. In this article for *Die Zeit*, Hans Jakob Ginsburg looks at the new AI general secretary and also at the aims and methods of this organisation which champions human rights all over the world.

Abdelkadik Larrach was released in autumn 1984 from prison in Kenitra, Morocco, before he had served his time.

It was an act of clemency by King Hassan.

But Larrach was grateful not to Hassan but to Hildegard Klein and her colleagues of Amnesty International in Bonn.

Larrach, who worked on the railways and was a trade unionist, was arrested by the Moroccan police in 1976. He and his political friends had distributed leaflets protesting against the annexation of the Western Sahara.

Larrach, a young man, was tortured under interrogation and sentenced to 17 years imprisonment in a show trial for "subversive activities". The case came to the attention of Amnesty International headquarters in London which passed on the information to Bonn.

Larrach received encouraging letters from West Germany which he was eventually able to answer.

On Morocco's national day the King received dozens of telegrams and letters, wishing him well but including the request that the non-violent political prisoner Larrach be released.

The director of the prison constantly received letters demanding better prison conditions for him.

This resulted in his being transferred from a dark, dank dungeon which he shared with many others to a cell up to European standards.

He was allowed to read books and prepare for his university examinations.

AI gave him some money after his release to help him on his way. The organisation regards his case as one of its successes. "Our letters certainly influenced things."

But success is more the exception than the rule. Those who work with AI need patience, confidence and a strong will. They must not be easily discouraged.

Brigitte Erler, 41, becomes the new general secretary of West German AI on 1 May.

She is a former SPD Member of Parliament in Bonn and consultant to the Economic Cooperation Ministry in Bonn.

But she resigned from the Economic Cooperation Ministry because she decided that development aid does more harm than good.

She said that as a development aid worker she was helping people who could better help themselves. "Political prisoners, on the other hand, really need our help."

Brigitte Erler began in the enormous official apparatus of development aid bringing happiness to whole regions of the world, to states, but she now thinks these attempts failed.

On the other hand her work with AI will be an attempt to do good in individual cases, without the requirement of improving the structure of the world.

Amnesty international owes much of its prestige to its refusal to get involved in controversy and by keeping its objectives modest.

The international secretariat in London concentrates on three tasks involving its members in 50 countries:

- It seeks the release of non-violent political prisoners all over the world, that is people who, "because of their convictions, colour, origin, language, religion or sex are imprisoned, and who have renounced the use of force."
- It demands a fair and swift trial for all political prisoners, including those involved in violence.
- It is unconditionally against the death sentence for all prisoners, against torture and all forms of inhuman treatment.

Amnesty International had its beginnings 24 years ago when a London lawyer called Peter Benenson read in a newspaper about the arbitrary imprisonment of opponents of the Salazar regime in Portugal.

He placed an advertisement which read: "The newspaper reader feels a sickening helplessness. If, however, people's sense of repugnance could be united into a single course of action, something more effective could be done."

Fourteen years later, in 1975, AI was awarded the United Nations' Human Rights award and two years later the Nobel Peace Prize for its contribution to "ensuring the basics for freedom and justice, and with these peace in the world."

The Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee could not have found a politician whose selection for the Prize was so unanimously welcomed worldwide.

The people in AI need a professional secretariat because no local group itself searches for those it seeks to protect.

The central office examines the human rights situation in countries all over the world, publishes reports, tracks down individual cases of political torture, and arranges for the "adoption" of a political prisoner by a specific group.

This is how the Bonn group became involved in the Larrach case, and this system should prevent AI sub-groups getting involved politically.

Those who want to help political prisoners in western countries should also do something about political prisoners in the East Bloc, and no one should try to do things under the AI flag that do not fall into the organisation's three categories.

There is, of course, dispute, among AI members about where political "violence" begins and who are "non-violent" prisoners. In order to get clarification on this point there is a borderline committee in London.

The West German section has an office in Bonn with 22 workers. It appeals for donations (DM8 million a year), publish German-language literature and seek to influence politicians, diplomats and the media.

The outgoing general secretary, Helmut Frenz, acquired a reputation for as a courageous Evangelical bishop in Chile under Pinochet's despotic rule.

His successor will have to put up with the scepticism of some who complain because she was never a member of the organisation.

But she was asked to take over because, as a former Social Democrat MP, she will be able to find new ways through the Bonn political labyrinth.

The 11,000 West German AI members will not be able to complain about any lack of commitment. Frau Erler's engagement book is shows just how committed she is.

She told me: "I cannot see you on Thursday afternoon since I have to demonstrate in Bonn." The demonstration is about the high treason trials in South Africa of 16 leading opponents of apartheid.

The self-imposed limitations of the organisation do not mean that individual AOI members close their eyes to injustice, against which the organisation does not fight, Brigitte Erler explained. She said emphatically that she could not, and had no wish, to alter the organisation's aims.

She said: "We have an awful lot of members who want to go flat out, would like to say like other ordinary people, 'They are swine in Chile', but if we, as an organisation, do that, we shall be completely ineffective."

In the 1970s West German AI was made up of young people, mainly students seeking a field of action outside the traditional, and in their eyes discredited, organisations. And there were those concerned with the Third World who regarded the objectives laid down by the London central office as too narrow.

A member in Bonn said: "We have lost many of these people to the Greens or to groups in the peace movement. Our new members are people who simply want to work for a good cause."

Frau Erler's background makes her suited to reconcile the differing motivations within the organisations.

She studied political science in West Berlin and was involved in the more intense phases of the student movement.

When she graduated she entered the Development Aid Ministry as a speech-writer for Erhard Eppler and Egon Bahr, then as Africa consultant.



Brigitte Erler . . . believes development aid is harmful.

(Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

In 1976 she was elected to the Bundestag on the SPD list headed by Eppler in Baden-Württemberg.

Four years later — she was not reelected to the Bundestag — she returned to the Development Aid Ministry, responsible for Pakistan, finally for Bangladesh under CSU Minister Jürgen Warnke. A disappointed Brigitte Erler regards much development aid as being "fatal aid", a view that will undoubtedly become standard with the political left.

She maintains that much of it destroys the growing structures of poor countries and furthers the exploitation of the masses in developing countries by a small upper strata of society. That is not new but seldom illustrated so effectively.

Old friends in the left wing of the Social Democrats have requested her to tone down these themes for the benefit of the few worthwhile projects. She retorts that she does not know if there are any such projects.

Off the record officials in Warnke's Ministry have admitted that she is right — development aid only does harm.

Frau Erler said: "Development aid plays the same role in neo-colonial industrialisation as did Christian missions in colonisation. It calms down the indigenous people and soothes our conscience."

Asked if development aid was so catastropic all over the world as it had been in Bangladesh she said: "Of course I get into a scrape when I try to go over the whole world with a broom. Bangladesh made me realise that a person who wants to do good can do the opposite."

Is AI a new approach to doing good? She thinks so: "My whole life has been based on a complex about helping. Society here is so complex that it didn't work here. My previous work failed only because I wanted to help people who could help themselves much better."

For this reason she decided to join AI. She said: "If someone is tortured somewhere I can do something so that he or she is not tortured and I know that this person cannot help himself. It is quite a different matter when Western experts provide a farmer with a water pump."

The latest AI annual report listed 2,390 abducted opponents of regimes in fifteen countries, 5,000 "adopted" political prisoners, 21,000 prisoners in Turkey alone held without due process of law, 5,000 hangings in China without a trial, and barbaric torturing.

For someone with "an aid complex" there is plenty to do.

Hans Jakob Ginsberg

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 5 April 1985)

Continued from page 12

He was informed that he would be taken to court and fined DM100 if he failed to order a standard dustbin within four weeks.

He lodged an appeal, threatening to sue the local authority for coercion. It was, he argued, using force to oblige him to hand over his property (raw materials) and be an accessary to a criminal offence (environmental pollution by virtue of inappropriate storage and incineration of raw materials). "On my property," he says, "the only waste would be the dustbin."

Wolfram Runkel

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 12 April 1985)